

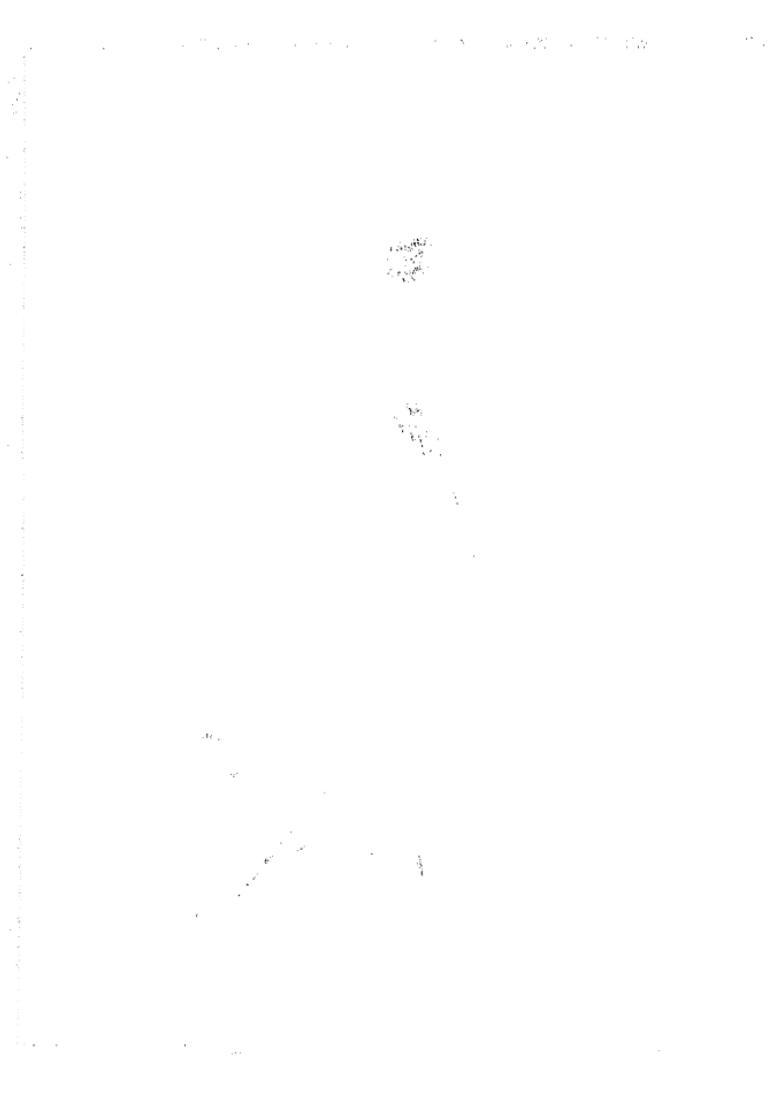
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LORD HERVEY'S MEMOIRS
VOLUME ONE

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LORD HERVEY
about 1730
with the Vice-Chamberlain's key of office
Unknown Artist

SOME MATERIALS TOWARDS
MEMOIRS
OF THE REIGN OF KING GEORGE II

By JOHN, LORD HERVEY

Printed from a copy of the original manuscript in the
Royal Archives at Windsor Castle; and from the
original manuscript at Ickworth

EDITED BY
ROMNEY SEDGWICK
Sometime Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOL. I



LONDON: 1931

MANUFACTURED IN GREAT BRITAIN

CONTENTS

(*N.B.—For convenience in reference, the pages of the volumes are numbered straight through: Vol. I containing pp. 1-314; Vol. II, pp. 315-648; Vol. III, pp. 649 to the end.*)

	PAGE
LIST OF PLATES	vii
PREFACE	ix
INTRODUCTION	xi
LORD HERVEY'S MEMOIRS	I
APPENDIX I: Notes and Letters by Lord Hervey relating to Cabinet meetings in 1740 and his dismissal in 1742	925
APPENDIX II: An Account of my own Constitution and Illness, with some Rules for the Preserva- tion of Health; for the Use of my Children: by Lord Hervey, written in 1731	961
INDEX	989

THE PLATES

LORD HERVEY, WITH THE VICE-CHAMBERLAIN'S KEY,
ABOUT 1730 *Frontispiece, Vol. I*
(*Reproduced from a painting at Ickworth, by the courtesy of
the Marquess of Bristol*)

GEORGE II, BY LOUIS FRANÇOIS ROUBILIAC Before p. i
(*Reproduced from the bust at Windsor Castle, by the gracious
permission of his Majesty the King*)

GEORGE II, BY ROUBILIAC (PROFILE OF ABOVE) Before p. i
(*Reproduced by the gracious permission of his Majesty the King*)

**FREDERICK, PRINCE OF WALES, AND HIS SISTERS, BY J. F.
NOLLEKENS** *Frontispiece, Vol. II*
(*Reproduced from the painting at Windsor Castle, by the
gracious permission of his Majesty the King*)

CAROLINE OF ANSPACH, BY JOHN MICHAEL RYSBRACK
Frontispiece, Vol. III
(*From the bust in the Wallace Collection*)

PREFACE

THE Editor of these Memoirs has been privileged to make use of the Royal Archives at Windsor ; and his grateful acknowledgments are also due to the Marquess of Bristol and the Earl of Ilchester for permission to make use of papers relating to Lord Hervey at Ickworth and Holland House, and to Sir Henry Head for the opinion on Lord Hervey's health printed in Appendix II.

INTRODUCTION

THE existence of Memoirs by the celebrated Lord Hervey, Pope's Lord Fanny and Queen Caroline's gigolo, was first announced by Horace Walpole in his *Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors*, published in 1758. Under the will of Lord Hervey's second son, the third Earl of Bristol, they passed via an illegitimate son to another brother, General Hervey, subject to the condition that they should not be published during the lifetime of George III. General Hervey died in 1815, leaving them to his nephew, afterwards the first Marquess of Bristol, who, after destroying and obliterating substantial portions of the original manuscript,¹ allowed the Memoirs to be published in 1848 under the editorship of John Wilson Croker, with additional alterations and omissions intended to remove "every expression positively offensive to a delicate mind."

Croker's letters to Lord Arthur Hervey, through whom Lord Bristol conducted the correspondence incidental to publication, show him to have been neither a free nor altogether a willing agent in this secondary process of purification. For the mutilations of the manuscript, to which he was permitted to refer only in guarded and rather misleading terms dictated by Lord Bristol,² he had, of course, no responsibility whatever. His own views on

¹See below, p. 857, n. Lord Bristol's note may of course mean that this was the only passage destroyed by him but Croker's letters to Lord Arthur Hervey show that Croker was under the impression that all the mutilations were effected by, or on the authority of, the first Marquess.

²Croker to Lord Arthur Hervey, 3 and 13 March, 1848, *Ickworth MSS.*

the subject were expressed in an article on the *Memoirs* in his organ, the *Quarterly*, which acidly wished that the noble owner of the manuscript had consulted some experienced literary adviser before irremediably mutilating a work of no ordinary importance; deplored the risk, "especially in these days of blue stocking activity, that the scruples of delicacy may be indulged to the serious damage of historical accuracy"; and wound up by suggesting the foundation of a book club to perpetuate complete copies of private memoirs and correspondence.

As a matter of fact, Croker had had reason to hope that Lord Bristol's mutilations might not prove to be irreparable. In the course of preparing the *Memoirs* for publication he had learned that a copy of them had been made in 1781 by General Hervey and sent by Lord Bristol, after General Hervey's death, to George IV.¹ With the consent of the family he wrote to the Duke of Wellington, George IV's executor and the legatee of his papers, to ask him to have a search made for this copy. The Duke readily agreed but in spite of reminders it was not forthcoming, and it remained among the mass of George III's and George IV's papers in the cellars of Apsley House till these papers, and with them General Hervey's long lost copy of his father's *Memoirs*, were returned by the present Duke of Wellington to the Royal Archives at Windsor Castle in 1912.

For this edition the Windsor copy has been collated with the original manuscript at Ickworth. The new matter available amounts to about a hundred pages, excluding a number of political speeches and similar matter which Croker left out or consigned to an appendix on the ground of their lack of interest. All Croker's

¹*Ickworth MSS.*, 21 and 26 April and 23 July, 1847. The box in which the copy was enclosed bears the name and address of the Earl of Bristol and the seal and initials of Augustus Phipps, General Hervey's other executor. For the copying of the *Memoirs*, see *Journals of the Hon. William Hervey*, 22 March and 24 April, 1781.

alterations and omissions have been cancelled and repaired; the book has been printed, as it was written, without division into chapters; and, apart from modernisation of spelling, punctuation, and use of capitals, Lord Hervey's Memoirs have been textually reproduced, without regard to considerations either of decency or of dullness.

Unfortunately the Windsor copy itself is not complete. On page 120 the Memoirs will be found to jump without explanation from May 1730 to the late summer of 1732. From internal evidence it is clear that this section of the work was actually written.¹ As General Hervey does not notice the hiatus, though he draws attention to the possible loss of a few sheets later on,² the passage may be assumed not to have been missing when the manuscript reached him. According to one of Croker's letters a few words interpolated in the manuscript at this point to bridge the gap, which, notwithstanding this sign-post, he managed to locate incorrectly, are in Lord Arthur Hervey's handwriting, and his enquiries suggest that he was under the impression that Lord Bristol was acquainted with the contents of the missing passage.³ On the whole, then, it seems reasonable to suppose that the first Marquess was responsible for all the changes in the original manuscript, but that in this single instance he removed the corresponding passage from the copy as well.

The motives of Lord Bristol's actions can only be conjectured. The fact that he mutilated the original manuscript, which remained in his possession, but not (except in one instance) the copy, suggests that he merely intended to prevent the publication of certain passages without the consent of the royal family, whom they principally concerned. The only passage in which he left no such discretion almost exactly coincides, and must largely have

¹See the allusion to "the transactions of the year 1731" *below*, p. 522.

²p. 837.

³Croker to Lord Arthur Hervey, 17 Oct., 1847 and 22 Feb., 1848.

been concerned, with Hervey's intimacy and quarrel with Frederick, Prince of Wales. From the remainder of the Memoirs, as well as from other sources, it seems probable that a full account of this quarrel would have been exceedingly scandalous, and it is conceivable that this part of them appeared to Lord Bristol so discreditable that he felt himself justified in leaving no duplicate of a passage involving the reputation of a Hervey as well as a Prince of Wales.

Lord Hervey was descended from an ancient but recently ennobled family of country gentlemen who had been settled at Ickworth in Suffolk since the middle of the fifteenth century. His father, a Whig member of parliament for the neighbouring borough of Bury St. Edmunds, had been raised to the peerage in 1703 by the influence of the Duchess of Marlborough and created Earl of Bristol in 1714 as a prominent supporter of the Protestant line. Lord Bristol was married twice, on both occasions to heiresses; as he wrote to one of his sons: "That God would please to give you grace to fix your affections on some worthy wealthy woman shall be the prayer, as it hath been the practice, of your most affectionate father."¹ By his first wife he had three children, of whom the eldest, Carr, Lord Hervey, is apocryphally reputed to have been the father of Horace Walpole.² By his second wife, Elizabeth Felton, a double heiress and half a Howard, he became the progenitor of the race which gave rise to the saying that mankind consisted of men, women and Herveys.

¹*Bristol Letters*, 24 May, 1740.

²Chiefly on the ground that Horace Walpole was extremely unlike Sir Robert Walpole and like John Hervey. But as John Hervey appears to have taken after Lady Bristol, who was not Carr Hervey's mother, and to have been as unlike Lord Bristol as Horace Walpole was unlike Sir Robert, the argument is unconvincing.

The prototype of this race, John Hervey, the eldest of Lord Bristol's seventeen children by his second marriage, was born in 1696. It was not to his father but to his mother, "the vehicle of all the ills I ever complained of," that he came to attribute the ill-health which, he says, so much embittered and so often endangered his life.¹ Mount Vesuvius, as he was to call her, because "from her mouth comes fire and rubbish," seems to have exercised a demoralising influence on her frail and delicate child. His father used to take him to Newmarket and made him a competent jockey; his mother preferred to keep him at her card table, where he learnt to be an expert card player at a very early age. When he was sixteen her objections to a proposal that he should jockey one of Lord Bristol's horses drew a prophetic protest from her husband. "Your weakness," he warned her, "tends to nothing but effeminacy, the very worst of education; his age, strength, and stature is now at such a crisis that you must determine to see him live a shrimp or risk something to enable him to commence man."²

After Westminster and Cambridge he was sent on the usual continental tour, curtailed in his case by the fears and tears of Lady Bristol to little more than a visit to Hanover to lay the foundations of favour with Frederick, the future Prince of Wales.³ On his return at the beginning of 1717 in the suite of the King, he commenced, in his own words, "what I thought fine gentleman": a course of life which did not agree with his poor physique and delicate health though, as he himself observes in a parenthesis which helps to explain Pulteney's gibes at "little Mr. Fainlove," he never "suffered from women, whatever hurt their commerce may have done me by

¹below, Appendix II., pp. 961 and 963.

²*Bristol Letters*, 7 April, 1713, and Hanbury Williams's "Character of Lord Hervey" printed in the *Life of Sir C. Hanbury Williams* by Lord Ilchester and Mrs. Langford-Brooke, pp. 63-4.

³*Bristol Letters*, 14 Dec., 1716.

enfeebling me more when I was already weak."¹ It appears, however, that his social life was not devoted entirely to pleasure. Lady Bristol's early training is said to have helped him to supplement a younger son's allowance. "He lived," Hanbury Williams writes, "a great while among women, whose ill play at quadrille made him ample amends for the badness of their conversation, for he every year cleared considerable sums at that game."²

In 1720, the year of the South Sea Bubble, in which he participated disastrously, he married Miss Lepel, a maid of honour and, like himself, a member of the aristocratic intelligentsia which at that time revolved round Leicester House. She was known as the beautiful Miss Lepel and he himself was excessively handsome, though so effeminate affected that it is said to have brought even his sex into question.³ The "beauty that shocks you" had, however, not yet become shocking, for the good looks of the bridegroom were as much admired as those of the bride. Gay included them both as "Hervey, fair of face," and "youth's youngest daughter, sweet Lepel," in the poem in which he depicts Pope's fashionable friends as assembling to celebrate the completion of the *Iliad*, and Pulteney and Chesterfield collaborated in a ballad which declared that:

Venus had never seen bedded
So perfect a beau and a belle,
As when Hervey the handsome was wedded
To the beautiful Molly Lepel.

Lady Hervey bore her husband eight children and outlived him by a quarter of a century. During her widowhood she wrote some extremely dull letters which have been published, and became one of Horace Walpole's favourite old ladies; Gibbon describes her in his autobiography as one of nature's Parisians, and Chesterfield commends her to his son as an example of good-breeding

¹*below*, Appendix II., pp. 979 and 986.

²"Character of Lord Hervey," *ut supra*.

³*Ibid.*

without frivolity, "for she understands Latin well, though she wisely conceals it." From this anthology of admiration her husband's name must be omitted. His recorded allusions to her are rare and decidedly non-committal. Their lack of enthusiasm, and the tendency of her admirers to insist on her good breeding, are illuminated by the extremely spiteful portrait which Hanbury Williams drew of her, as a pendant to that of her lord:

Nature took great care of her person, but quite forgot her mind, which had this effect, that she was of the same mind with every person she talked to. If she did not understand 'em she still assented with a smile. In which she dealt much, but which in all the years I knew her never grew to a laugh. She was what was reckoned well bred, civil to flatness, and flattering to be quite fulsome. All the distinction she made in company was in giving the preference of her attention to the person of the highest rank. This she carried to so high a degree, that she found out infinite charms of understanding in the Duke of Lorraine; and her journey into France (that she made about two years before) furnished her with an opportunity of shedding as many tears for the Duke of Bourbon's death as she did for the Duke of Lorraine's departure out of England. She affected to be lively, which was expressed by a smile and opening her eyes a little wider than ordinary, which ended generally in an exclamation of some things being charming. She talked much commonplace stuff that had nothing in it, and gave you entertainments without any victuals. She smiled without joy and cried without sorrow. Incapable of love and ignorant of friendship, affected in every word, motion, and (I believe) thought, she was a fine lady, and would not have had you thought for the world she was good for the only thing she excelled in, which was being an excellent economist: and though she was much in the world took great and constant pains in the bringing up of her daughters, which is very apparent, for they exactly in every word and gesture resemble her, and that from what I have said you'll confess cannot proceed from nature. Her total, real indifference to mankind has hindered her ever having a lover. For I am sure it was not her love to her Lord prevented her; he not suffering her to be upon such an equality, for many years last past, as produces that passion in its true light. She hated (or affected to hate) England, and doated or pretended to doat upon France, and every man and thing that was French. She had studied their history as far as Cardinal Retz's Memoirs and Madam Motteville's writings.

On these subjects she plumed herself, and, if nobody was there that had read any farther, made a shining figure. But her stock was soon exhausted and usually ended with dinner. Thus I have described her appearance. What her inside was my Lord only knew, and he I believe but partly.¹

In 1723 the death of his half-brother, Carr Hervey, made him heir to the earldom, with the reversion of a family seat in the House of Commons. His constitution, in his parents' opinion, had precluded him from facing the strain of a contested election; no such objection could be raised to the proceedings by which the corporation of Bury St. Edmunds were accustomed to execute the mandates of Ickworth. On the occurrence of a vacancy in 1725 he was duly elected but he rarely attended to his parliamentary duties, and displayed little interest in politics. His *Account of my own Constitution and Illness*, written in 1731, shows the cause of this inactivity. His health, always bad, had recently taken a turn for the worse, and since 1723 he had been suffering from violent and recurrent paroxysms of pain due to an affection of the gall-bladder, probably gall-stones.²

It was these attacks of pain, totally unaffected by the prescriptions of Dr. Arbuthnot and other leading medical practitioners, that brought Hervey in 1726 to the consulting room of Dr. Cheyne. That celebrated man, after many physical vicissitudes, including a period during which he had weighed thirty-two stone, had reached the conclusions which he promulgated first in his book *Health and Long Life*, and in their final form in his better-known *English Malady*, a title chosen, he explained, because it was the name given by foreigners to nervous distempers, spleen, vapours, lowness of spirits, in fact to hypochondrical disorders generally, owing to their prevalence in this island, where it was computed that they accounted for almost one-third of the complaints of the upper classes. Why, asked

¹*Holland House MSS.*, kindly communicated by Lord Ilchester.

²See Sir Henry Head's opinion, Appendix II, p. 987.

Dr. Cheyne, himself a victim, should this be so? The answer, again a generalisation from his own case, could not be doubtful: an over-generous diet, an excess of "strong, high, animal foods, and generous, defecated, spirituous liquors," and an insufficiency of exercise. What, he proceeded to enquire, was the remedy? Here his answer differed from that of his fellow practitioners, which may be given in Hervey's words: "a vomit to clear your stomach, a glister to give you a stool, laudanum to quiet the pain, and then a purge to cleanse your bowels, and what they call carry it off. This was their method in every attack; and, during the intervals, if bitters to restore my appetite, spa-water to raise my spirits, and ass's milk with powder of crab's eyes and oyster-shells to sweeten my blood, would not prevent the returns of my distemper, they none of them knew what else to try." With extreme originality Dr. Cheyne suggested that a better method would be to reduce the diet. Only in very serious cases, where all other remedies had failed, did he recommend so drastic a prescription. And "only in those distempers commonly reckoned incurable, the reproach of physic and physicians, and which are in their own nature either mortal or insupportably painful, such as torturing, habitual gouts, confirmed cancers, obstinate venereal distempers, the stone in the kidneys, or in the bladder (when lithotomy cannot be administrated), a pulmonic phthisis, a nervous atrophy, the epilepsy, and the other higher and inconquerable hysterick and hypochondriac disorders, a settled hectic (from ulcers), an elephantiasis and leprosy, a humorous asthma, a chronical diabetes, an incurable scrophula, and a deep scurvy—in these only," he proceeded, "and only in these when they have become manifest, have resisted all other common methods, and the patients are rather growing worse than better under them," in fact, only as a last resort for desperate cases, was it proper to have recourse to the extreme and ultimate remedy of "a total and strict milk, seed, and vegetable diet."

The seriousness of Hervey's case may be gathered from the fact that when, growing, as he says, "every day weaker, my spirits more depressed, my pains more frequent, and my fevers more constant," and attracted by the doctrines of *Health and Long Life*, "so different from the theory of the rest of the fraternity, so reasonable in its system, and so conformable to my own observations," he decided to go to Bath and put himself into Dr. Cheyne's hands, he was, after six weeks of the Bath waters to cleanse and strengthen his stomach, at once placed upon the ultima ratio of a total milk diet for two months, after which he was prescribed a vegetable diet and continued on it for three years. From this moment, he records, writing in 1731, he never had another "formed fit of the colic"; and though he saw fit in time to modify his vegetarian regime to one which he found by experience to be more suitable to his own constitution, he became from this moment an enthusiastic convert to Dr. Cheyne's gospel of diet—the great truth that health, as he puts it, depends "much more upon one's cook than one's apothecary." Not only temperance was necessary, but exercise; and not only exercise but cleanliness, even to the length of "washing with a towel and warm or cold water, all over, once a day." Naturally views like these excited violent hostility. Dr. Cheyne was accused of being a socialist, or, in contemporary language, a "leveller, and for destroying order, ranks, and property." Nor was his disciple immune. "I have not bragged," Hervey writes to Dr. Cheyne in 1732, "of the persecutions I suffer in this cause; but the attacks made upon me by ignorance, impertinence, and gluttony are innumerable and incredible." Of these attacks, only one is still remembered, and that had yet to be made.

Dr. Cheyne's system could not, of course, cure Hervey's fundamental physical troubles. Of the nature of these, apart from the gall bladder affection, and another less painful but almost more alarming disorder, nothing can

now be discovered and little can be added to his own account of his health in 1731:

Though I do not pretend that this method will, like Jason's bath, turn the natural stream of time and age back to its source and restore the bloom and vigour of unimpaired youth, yet I do firmly believe whatever strength is yet remaining in any constitution it will preserve. And considering the hereditary defects of mine; how free I made with it, bad as it was, when I was very young; how late in my life I began to manage it (for I was thirty years old before I thought of management); how many, how violent, and how dangerous the complaints were with which I was to struggle; how tottering and how crazy the building was I had to prop; all these things, I say, considered, I do think, and everybody who saw me five years ago will own, it is next to a miracle that I now exist at all.¹

Though the treatment may have been only a palliative, it was successful in relieving Hervey from his recurrent attacks of pain and by 1727 he was well enough to take an active interest in the political crisis which followed the death of George I. He hoped to be included in the distribution of places arising from the changes and promotions which were anticipated on the opening of the new reign, but these proved unexpectedly few, and in spite of his friendly relations with Walpole and a personal appeal by Lord Bristol to George II he obtained nothing better than a consolation prize in the form of a pension of £1,000 a year pending the occurrence of a suitable vacancy. While he was smarting under this disappointment his eldest sister died after a life of constant ill health, accompanied by symptoms in many respects resembling those which he had observed in himself. He loved her, he says, "better than all the rest of our nursery put together. . . . It is certain that so long as I live, whenever I think of her, it will be as of one I loved as well as I am capable of loving and who deserved, as much as anything human can be, to be beloved. . . . I lost in her not only an amiable companion but an affectionate friend and an able counsellor, and was so unaffectedly touched with this loss that

¹Appendix II., p. 986.

her death had like to have been the cause of my own." His disappointment and his grief brought on a recurrence of his feverish disorders accompanied by hysterical symptoms, and in July 1728 he left the country to try the effects of a change of scene and a warmer climate by spending the winter in Italy in the company of a young friend, Stephen Fox.¹

The journey to Italy is the turning point in Hervey's career. When he went abroad he was a disappointed and neurotic valetudinarian in a state of nervous breakdown; when he returned in October 1729, his acquaintances were astonished at the change in his looks, strength and spirits. He himself does not attribute this improvement to the continental doctors, whom he found if possible less intelligent than English ones, or to the Neapolitan winter climate which turned out to be even worse than London's. "I never," he writes, "was in immediate danger so long together, as at Naples . . . Mr. Fox never left me night or day." But gradually his health improved and in Florence, where he spent his convalescence, he wrote a poem attributing his recovery to Stephen Fox, the

dearest youth, who taught me first to know
What pleasures from a real friendship flow.

Stephen Fox, afterwards raised by Hervey's influence to the peerage as Lord Ilchester, was at this time a young man of twenty-four. Throughout his life he was completely overshadowed by his younger brother, Henry Fox, and the only notable incident in it is the passionate affection which he inspired in Hervey. In 1731, five years since this affection had begun, Hervey was still addressing him as "mon bien aimé," "mea vera et sola voluptas" whom he "loves . . . better than all others in the world bundled together." "The impression you have made upon me," he tells him, "can only wear or decay with want of the materials in which it is stamped. . . . Till I cease to

¹Appendix II., pp. 967, 971-4.

be anything, I shall never cease to be yours." "God forbid," he writes in another letter, "any mortal should ever have the power over me you have, or that you should ever have less, who never made me feel that power without thinking such slavery the happiest circumstances of my life."¹

These love letters have a bearing not only on Hervey's psychology, but on future passages in his history. They are the letters of a man who in this particular relationship is irresistibly impelled to visualise himself as a girl. He has often, he tells Fox, thought that if any stranger were to read his letters, "they would certainly conclude they came rather from a mistress than a friend." More than once he recurs to this theme. For example,

T'other day (he writes) at dinner at Lord Harrington's Sir William Irby sat next me, and Lord Chancellor designing to drink his health and taking him for you called to him by your name; when, without the least affectation, I assure you I coloured and felt just as I imagine your favourite and fondest mistress would have done upon the same occasion. Don't despise me for these little particulars, but flatter your vanity with reflecting that to teach such a way of thinking to so good a courtier is not a less proof of your power than it would be to establish Christianity in Turkey or chastity in Swallow Street.²

A few days later a repartee of Lady Deloraine's gives him another opportunity of exhibiting himself in this feminine rôle. He and a masculine looking Miss Fitzwilliam have been teasing Lady Deloraine by praising

the beauty of one of her daughters, who is a cherry-cheeked, buxom girl, against the other, who is in her own pale, languishing, sickly style and her favourite. We both agreed that the cherry cheeks would turn out the prettiest woman. To which her Ladyship answered that she could never think the delicacy of her favourite to be an objection to a girl, any more than it would be an advantage to a boy; for that in her opinion a woman could never look too much like a woman nor a man too much like a man. Considering the two people she said this to, it was certainly well said and

¹*Ickworth MSS.*, various dates, 1730-31. ²*Ibid.*, 17 Aug., 1731.

I can forgive her having bragged of it to every creature she has seen since.¹

Here, then, we have the foundation for Pulteney's "pretty little Master-Miss," and Pope's "amphibious thing" that "now trips a lady and now struts a lord."

The tonic effects of this attachment no doubt contributed to rescue Hervey from the neurotic condition into which he had fallen at the end of 1727. But he remained a valetudinarian and these very letters reveal that he suffered from a disability which in itself might have excused him from taking a part in public life. In his account of his own health he mentions that he has a brother and a sister who suffer from fits which are supposed to be epileptic. Of himself, however, he merely remarks: "I have sometimes fits (of late very rarely, but two this year), when in perfect health and without the least warning my eyesight failed, and immediately after I dropped down as if I were shot." Both the 1731 fits occurred in the Queen's drawing-room and are described in letters to Stephen Fox, which illustrate the difficulties under which Hervey was forced to conduct his court and parliamentary career.

ST. JAMES'S, 11th Jan., 1731.

For fear some officious paragraph in a newspaper should alarm your kindness for me and make you uneasy, I write this to give you a short account of a very disagreeable accident that happened to me yesterday morning in the Queen's Drawing-Room. As I was talking to the Prince in as good spirits and health as ever I was in my life, I dropped down at once without the least warning, as if I had been shot. Sir Robert Walpole, Charles Churchill, and Lord Scarborough, carried me into the Queen's Bedchamber, where they pulled off all my clothes, half drowned me with water, and crammed drops and gold powder into my mouth. The King assisted with more goodness than his general good breeding alone could have exacted and has sent here perpetually. I was brought down, God knows by whom, sometimes fainting, and sometimes recovered, to my own lodgings, and immediately there bled in both arms. I took in an hour after

¹ *Ibid.*, 18 Sept., 1731.

a remedy. At night, finding my head still charged and heavy, I was ordered to be cupped, and this morning have taken physic. I felt neither pain nor sickness the whole time and feel myself to-day astonishingly well. The Prince sat with me all yesterday and has promised to do so again to-day; but all these honours do not compensate for the disagreeable circumstance of this accident having been so public. You know I detest being talked about.¹

The next time he was more fortunate.

ST. JAMES'S, 7th December, 1731.

I have been so very much out of order since I writ last that going into the Drawing Room before the King I was taken with one of those disorders with the odious name, that you know happened to me once at Lincoln's Inn Fields playhouse. I had just warning enough to catch hold of somebody (God knows who) in one side of the lane made for the King to pass through, and stopped till he was gone by. I recovered my senses enough immediately to say, when people came up to me asking what was the matter, that it was a *cramp* took me suddenly in my leg, and (that *cramp* excepted) that I was as well as ever I was in my life. I was far from it; for I saw everything in a mist, was so giddy I could hardly walk, which I said was owing to my *cramp* not quite gone off, and was so sick I thought I should have vomited in the room. However, to avoid suspicion I stayed and talked with people about ten minutes, and then (the Duke of Grafton being there to light the King) came down to my lodgings where, without taking anything to promote vomiting, I began to strain and brought up a good deal of blood. I am now far from well, but better, and prodigiously pleased, since I was to feel this disorder, that I contrived to do it *a l'insu de tout le monde*. Mr. Churchill was close by me when it happened, and takes it all for a *cramp*. The King, Queen, etc., inquired about my *cramp* this morning and laughed at it; I joined in the laugh, said how foolish an accident it was, and so it passed off; nobody but Lady Hervey (from whom it was impossible to conceal what followed) knows anything of it.²

The earlier of these two letters was written a fortnight before his duel with Pulteney. To understand this affair it is necessary to go back to Hervey's return from Italy in October 1729, with the intention of resuming or

¹*Ibid.*

²*Ibid.*

rather beginning his political career. On his arrival he found himself confronted with a plan concocted by his wife and their old and intimate friend, Pulteney, with the object of inducing him to join the opposition. The proposal was that Lord Bristol should be persuaded by the joint efforts of Pulteney and the old Duchess of Marlborough to make good out of his own pocket the pension which his son would forfeit by leaving the Court, while Hervey himself would be subjected to pressure from his wife, who was to tell him that during his absence Sir Robert Walpole had tried to seduce her, and from Pulteney, who would warn him that under existing political conditions it was necessary to choose between Walpole and himself. In accordance with this arrangement Pulteney saw Hervey as soon as he arrived in London and in the course of an interview in which he worked himself up into a violent passion and used wild and unquotable language about the government and the royal family, exerted all his eloquence to convince his friend that the ministry was about to fall. His efforts were fruitless, and Lady Hervey's made even less impression. Hervey formed the opinion that the Ministry would weather the storm, and made up his mind to stand by them, but had not the courage to tell Pulteney frankly of his decision. Fearing, as he says, to anger Pulteney, and depending on the ungiving temper of his father, instead of taking the line that he could not honourably desert the court, he took that of not being able to afford the loss of his pension, and allowed Pulteney to proceed with the negotiation for an allowance. Lord Bristol, however, proved unexpectedly amenable, and the only result of Hervey's equivocation was that, as he himself says, he "was at last forced to say with an ill grace what he might at first have said with a good one, and did that with the air of a mean shuffle and double dealing, which he might have done with openness and reputation; which was throwing up his pension and yet acting with those who procured it for him;" and "from this time the

friendship between Lord Hervey and Mr. Pulteney began to cool and soon after turned to the other extreme."¹

The occasion of their final rupture was the appearance at the beginning of 1731 of a pamphlet called *Sedition and Defamation Displayed*. This Ministerial counterblast to the journalistic campaign waged by the opposition in the *Craftsman* was prefaced by a *Dedication to the Patrons of the Craftsman*, in which Pulteney was depicted as a disappointed intriguer and Bolingbroke as a double traitor to the Houses of Hanover and Stuart. Sir William Yonge, a creature of Walpole's, subsequently claimed to have been its author, but at the time it was generally supposed to have been written by Hervey, who during the last session had distinguished himself in the House of Commons as a supporter of the Government, was known to have literary pretensions, and seems, in fact, to have been an accessory to its publication.² Already irritated by what he regarded as his friend's shabby behaviour, which had since received its reward in the appointment of Vice-Chamberlain to the King, and now exasperated beyond endurance by this gratuitous provocation, Pulteney dashed off a violent and venomous rejoinder, which a few days later appeared under the title of *A Proper Reply to a late Scurrilous Libel*, by Caleb D'Anvers. Who, Pulteney professed to wonder, could have been the author of *Sedition and Defamation*. On stylistic grounds, "the little quaint antitheses, the laboured jingle of the periods, the

¹*Memoirs*, pp. 103-10.

²A copy of this pamphlet at Ickworth contains the following note, in hand-writing resembling Hervey's: "Dedication etc. by Lord Hervey." On the strength of this note Croker credited Hervey with the authorship of the *Dedication*, in spite of Hervey's denial and Sir William Yonge's claim. On the analogy of the case of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's attack on Pope, which on very similar evidence and again contrary to the hitherto accepted view, Croker mistakenly attributed to Hervey, a possible interpretation of this note, assuming it to be in Hervey's writing, is that Hervey was involved in the process of mystification which at that time was a common feature of anonymous publications.

great variety of rhetorical flourishes, affected metaphors, and puerile witticisms," suggested an Eton boy, or possibly a boarding school miss.

At last I was told in great confidence that they were the productions of pretty Mr. Fainlove; but let me beg of you, Mr. D'Anvers, said he, not to treat the young gentleman with too much severity! *Look at his youth and innocence! He is not made for such rough encounters.* O, by no means, Sir, said I:—*What!* hurt Mr. Fainlove! —*What would the ladies say?*—Nay, you know that he is a *Lady* himself; or at least such a nice composition of the two sexes that it is difficult to distinguish which is most predominant. My friend Horace hath described him much better than I can.

Quem si *Puellarum* insereres Choro
Mire sagaces falleret hospites
Discrimen obscurum, solutis
Crinibus, *ambiguoque vultu.*

Ovid and Ausonius have likewise described such a pretty medley of the masculine and the feminine gender in the following verses:

Talis erat cultu facies, quam dicere vere
Virgineam in *Puero*, puerilem in *Virgine* posses. *Ovid.*
Dum dubitat Natura *Marem*, faceget ne *Puellam*
Factus es, O pulcher, paene *Puella*, *Puer.* *Aus.*

But though it would be barbarous to handle such a *delicate Her-maphrodite*, such a pretty little *Master-Miss* in too rough a manner, yet you must give me leave, my dear, to give you a little gentle correction for your own good. . . .

After more of this banter, much of which was to be subsequently appropriated by Pope, Pulteney proceeded in veiled terms to make a scandalous insinuation. The author of the pamphlet to which he was replying had taunted the opposition with their inability to substantiate the charge of corruption which they were constantly bringing against the Court. Well, many malpractices were notoriously difficult to prove. "Give me leave to illustrate this by a parallel case. There is a certain unnatural reigning vice (indecent and almost shocking to mention) which hath, of late, been severely punished in a neighbouring

nation. It is well known that there must be two parties in this crime; the Pathick and the Agent; both equally guilty. I need not explain these faults. The proof of the crime hath been generally made by the Pathick; but I believe that evidence will not be obtained quite so easily in the case of corruption when a man enjoys every moment the fruits of his guilt."

The result was a duel, fought on a snowy day in the Green Park, Henry Fox being Hervey's second. In the preliminary exchange of messages Hervey stated that he had not written the *Dedication* but Pulteney being unable to deny the authorship and not prepared to apologise for the insults of the *Reply*, the duel took place. Both were slightly wounded and, according to a contemporary account, Pulteney had once so much the advantage of Hervey,

that he would infallibly have run my Lord through the body if his foot had not slipped and then the seconds took an occasion to part them. Upon which Mr. Pulteney embraced Lord Hervey, and expressed a great deal of concern at the accident of their quarrel, promising at the same time that he would never personally attack him again, either with his mouth or his pen. Lord Hervey made him a bow, without giving him any sort of answer, and (to use the common expression) thus they parted.

Pulteney's compunction was genuine. He fully accepted Hervey's denial of authorship, and now believed that the real villain was Walpole, who by deliberately encouraging the rumour that it was by Hervey had led him to insult and nearly to kill an old and intimate friend. He said all this in a fresh pamphlet couched in terms so offensive, not only to Walpole but to the King, that his name was struck out of the Privy Council. Hervey himself emerged from the affair with an enhanced reputation. Pulteney had merely said about him in print what society said about him in private, but as in the case of his eldest son, when Lord Cobham spat into his hat, it was a surprise to most people to find that in spite

of his effeminate appearance and reputation he had had the courage to send a challenge.¹ No doubt for this reason the breach left little bitterness. In the Memoirs Pulteney is handled with generosity and described as the ablest man in the House of Commons after Walpole, as well as the most coveted companion and beloved politician of his time. Very different were the results of Hervey's next quarrel. When he started the Memoirs he was under the impression that they would be a parliamentary Iliad in which "the anger of this Achilles," as he calls Pulteney, would be the dominant theme. But as his work progressed it turned into the history of something in which he was far more deeply interested, and about which he consequently wrote far better. That the Memoirs are still read by others than professional historians is due chiefly to their account of the quarrel in the royal family, written with a zest which they owe to Hervey's own quarrel with the Prince of Wales.

The very fullness and frankness with which Frederick's quarrel with his parents is reported in the Memoirs have invested it with the character of a mystery. There must, it is felt, have been some more adequate reason than Hervey produces to account for the extravagant hatred which he describes. Towards the end of the Memoirs the mere sight of the Prince is enough to rouse the fury of his mother. She sees him walking across the court and exclaims, reddening with rage: "Look, there he goes—that wretch!—that villain!—I wish the ground would open this moment and sink the monster to the lowest hole in hell."² The Queen and her daughter Caroline wish "a hundred times a day that the Prince might drop down dead of an apoplexy, the Queen cursing the hour of his birth, and the Princess Caroline declaring she grudged him every hour he continued to breathe."³ They hated

¹Lady Irwin to Lord Carlisle, 30 Jan., 1731, *H.M.C., 15th Report, 6, Carlisle.*

²*Memoirs*, p. 681.

³*Ibid.*, p. 671.

him, Hervey writes, "to a degree which cannot be credited or conceived by people who did not hear the names they called him, the character they gave him, the curses they lavished upon him, and the fervour with which they both prayed every day for his death."¹ But it did not occur to him or to his contemporaries in general to look for some occult explanation of these violent emotions. Lord Hardwicke, indeed, hints at the existence of a secret source of dissension. In his account of his share in the events leading to the Prince of Wales's expulsion from St. James's he wrote:

Sir Robert Walpole informed me of certain passages between the King and himself, and between the Queen and the Prince, of too high and secret a nature even to be trusted to this narrative; but from thence I found great reason to think that this unhappy difference between the King and the Queen and H.R.H. turned open some points of a more interesting and important nature than have hitherto appeared.

When, however, many years later, his son enquired as to the meaning of those dark insinuations, Lord Hardwicke protested that he had forgotten what they referred to.²

In reality Frederick's relations with his parents only appear to be unusual because they have been adequately reported. Every Prince of Wales in the eighteenth century quarrelled with his father except George III who, having no father, quarrelled with his grandfather instead. All these quarrels were characterised by the same or very similar phenomena; the procedure for ejecting Frederick from St. James's was actually copied from the precedent in the previous reign and the occasion of both ejections was the friction aroused by the birth of a child. Even the death wishes of Carlton House in 1737 were to be repeated in the same residence more than half a century later in the form of hearty expressions of hope that George III would soon be recognised as permanently insane, while in a less

¹*Ibid.*, pp. 774-5.

²*Yorke, Hardwicke*, i. pp. 178-9.

open and conscious form they are implicit in George III's letters to Lord Bute on the subject of George II. Nor of course are these phenomena peculiar to one family, century, or country. Henry V crowning himself before his father's death is a symbolic representation of the rule that the head of an heir apparent lies uneasy until it wears the crown.

It is, however, true that in eighteenth century England the difficulties of the relationship were aggravated by political factors peculiar to this country. On the continent a reigning monarch had many remedies against an unruly heir apparent. Peter the Great had recently put his eldest son to death and Frederick William of Prussia, after being dissuaded with some difficulty from following this example, had imprisoned the Crown Prince, having first forced him to witness the execution of an objectionable friend. It does, indeed, appear that George I at one time had under consideration proposals for disposing of George II on lines in support of which Lord Stanhope adduced what he appears to have considered the relevant precedent of the crucifixion.¹ But this project can hardly have been taken seriously; and in fact the King soon found that it was not possible even to put the movements of the Prince of Wales under restraint without exposing himself to an application for a Habeas Corpus. Cutting off the Prince's allowance, even if that allowance were not secured to him by statute, was impossible owing to public opinion. In short, the King's weapons against a defiant Prince of Wales were brutum fulmen and easily perceived to be such.

Very different was the position of the Prince of Wales as against his father. So long as he remained on terms with the King he was a nonentity, excluded from all share in the government of the country, even discouraged from occupying himself with acquiring popularity by such harmless means as accepting city freedoms or attending public dinners, kept extremely short of money, and con-

¹*Memoirs*, p. 849.

stantly liable to be overruled in the smallest details of his domestic life. But let him break with the King, and he became at once a political force of the first importance, the terror of his parent as the head of the body regarded not as His Majesty's opposition but as the opposition to His Majesty or, alternatively, when there was a grown-up heir apparent, as the opposition of the Prince of Wales. By so doing he performed the constitutional equivalent of heading an insurrection against his father who was thereby exposed to the danger of being taken prisoner by his son. This, and not the danger of being a doge in the hands of a Venetian oligarchy, was the real weakness of the King's position in the eighteenth century; and it was this humiliating possibility, which eventually became a fact, that explains the violence of the emotions aroused by Frederick's conduct in his proud and overbearing parents.

As to the passages which were too high and secret for Lord Hardwicke to commit to paper, but insufficiently interesting for him to commit to memory, there can be little doubt as to the transaction to which they relate. Apart from the general forces impelling a Prince of Wales to oppose his father, Frederick's principal motive in going into opposition was to secure the income of £100,000, to which Hervey himself acknowledges that he had a moral claim. With some difficulty and at the price of certain concessions the House of Commons was induced to reject this demand in 1737, but it was rumoured that Frederick proposed to renew the attack in the following year on more advantageous ground. In return for the increase in his income, which he urgently required, being riddled with debt, the Prince was supposed to intend to offer to renounce his right to the Electorate of Hanover in favour of his brother, the Duke of Cumberland, in return for an increase of his income to £100,000. Thus on the one hand it could be represented that the King would be relieved of the necessity of providing an apanage for his younger son, and consequently able to spare more money for

Frederick: and on the other hand the House of Commons would be presented with the attractive prospect of getting rid of the extremely unpopular Hanover connection at the cost of an increase in the Prince of Wales's allowance which would be borne by the King.¹

The sting in any such proposal lay in the fact that it would probably have raised a very high and secret transaction indeed, namely, George II's suppression of his father's will. The fact of the suppression of this will was fairly generally known at the time but it is only recently that the true cause of George II's action has been ascertained.² The will attempted to give effect to a plan, which George I had for some years been considering, for dissolving the personal union of the Kingdom and the Electorate. Frederick knew and approved of his grandfather's intentions and thus alluded to them in his political testament, entitled "Instructions for my son George, drawn by myself for his good, that of my family's, and for that of his people, according to the ideas of my grandfather and best friend, George I":

Let me advise you to read over carefully and often the will of my grandfather King George I., a wise and good Prince. He, for the family and people, foresaw the jealousies that might arise in this Kingdom against the Electorate, therefore enjoined me to make a separation of them and to tie it down so strongly that unless by the death (which God prevent) of all my sons, grandsons, or of the male part of my family, only one son should survive, England and Hanover should never be united again. This has always been my desire, and the latter years have still more convinced me of the wiseness of this project. . . .

If this project, feasible as it is, can gain the sanction of the Empire and the authority of an Act of Parliament, let it be done by you in the safest and easiest way to yourself and the family.

From that moment Jacobitism will be in a manner rooted out,

¹*Memoirs*, pp. 795-802 and 855-7.

²See Professor Wolfgang Michael's paper in *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, 6—1918, on "Die Personalunion von England und Hannover und das Testament Georgs I."

and you will not be forced then to court your Ministers for one job or another: as unfortunately your predecessors have been forced to do.

Maybe your Ministers themselves will oppose this salutary scheme on that very account; but your own good sense and princely spirit will, with the help of God, get the better of all difficulties.¹

No copy of the will has survived but from the terms of Frederick's testament it appears to have attempted to entail Hanover in such a manner that it would pass, on Frederick's death, to his second surviving son. In order to guard against the possibility of the suppression of this will, George I had deposited copies with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel. He seems, however, to have failed to secure his son's consent to the plan, and to have overlooked, or ignored, the question of his power to alter the order of succession to the Electorate. At all events the will was unanimously pronounced by George II's Hanoverian Ministers to be illegal and invalid, and after much discussion, including consultation with Cardinal Fleury, the new King decided, with the concurrence of both his Governments, to suppress a document which had no legal validity, and whose publication would serve no useful purpose, while it might easily lead to obvious international, national, and family complications. It was accordingly suppressed, at the cost of a heavy payment, disguised as a subsidy, as the price of retrieving the copy lodged with the Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, and of a good deal of unde-

¹ *Windsor Castle Archives*, dated: "Leicester House, 13 Jan., 174⁸. The Windsor Archives contain not only a copy of the document in the *Stowe MSS.* used by Professor Michael, but a rough draft of observations in the handwriting of Lord Macclesfield on the question of the possibility of effecting the separation by a testamentary disposition, which would be approved by an Act of Parliament. The reply was, in substance, that this depended on whether 'His Majesty by the laws of the Empire has a power by his last will and testament to alter the succession of his estates in Germany.' In view of this, and of the terms of Frederick's 'Instructions,' it seems clear that George I attempted by his will to carry out his original project of entailing the Electorate upon Frederick's second surviving son.

served odium to George II, whose motives in his own time, and until very recently, were entirely misunderstood.

No mystery attaches to the quarrel between Frederick and his parents. Its primary cause was the heavy strain placed by the eighteenth century political system on the normally difficult and delicate relationship between a reigning monarch and his heir apparent; its secondary cause the question of the Prince of Wales's allowance; and its occasion Frederick's childish folly over his wife's accouchement. It is Hervey's quarrel with Frederick that calls for a completer explanation than, owing to the disappearance of part of the *Memoirs*, it is possible to give.

Hervey was in Italy when Frederick arrived in England at the end of 1729 and cannot have made his acquaintance until the close of the following year. His appointment to the post of Vice-Chamberlain brought him constantly into touch with the young Prince, who was still on friendly terms with the King and Queen, and his third son, the future Earl Bishop, born in August 1730, was called after Frederick, who consented to be godfather. By the end of the year they were on such friendly terms that when Hervey had his first fit at Court Frederick came and sat with him all the day. The Prince had literary leanings and Hervey's fluent pen helped him to compose ballads and sonnets. In the following year they were reported to have collaborated in a play and submitted it incognito to the manager of Covent Garden, whose verdict was that if the last two acts, which he had not read, were a great deal better than the first three, it might run one night—an estimate which proved optimistic.¹ In August 1731, their relations seem to have been close enough to inspire jealousy in Stephen Fox, to whom Hervey writes to deny that in his heart he ever even wished to love Frederick as much as he did Stephen.² A letter to Fox in October shows

¹Diary of the First Earl of Egmont (Cd. 8264), 11 Oct., 1731 and 16 Jan., 1732.

²*Ickworth MSS.*, 31 Aug., 1731.

the high favour in which he stood, or in which he imagined he stood, with Frederick:

The Duke of Lorraine dined yesterday at the Duke of Newcastle's.—The Prince told me he and I were not in favour enough to be two of the forty that were invited. He said it with some warmth. All the answer I made him was that, whenever they showed their dislike to me by coupling me with him, I should always say, like the song, "ces affronts sont des faveurs." He replied immediately, "You take every occasion to be agreeable, and they to be disagreeable." I saw he was hurt and was glad to observe at night that Standish (the Duke of Newcastle) saw it too. It put him in a real fidget, equal to any he ever put on when he had a mind to appear a man of business.¹

In November Hervey went into the country to pay a round of visits. After visiting Wilton he went to stay with Stephen Fox, and from Redlynch sent the Prince a rhymed letter of the kind which he wrote so easily and, in the end, once too often. As illustrating both his weakness for writing doggerel, and his relations with the Prince and the royal family generally at that date, it deserves quotation. After describing Wilton, Hervey proceeds to Redlynch:

Quant al Padrone, Signor Ste,
Le petit drôle, mon cher ami,
Il peste un peu contre la pluie,
Mais d'une humeur badin, joli,
Amusant, polisson, poli,
Fait les délices de notre vie,
Rit, cause, et chante, et chasse l'ennui.

Hervey then apologises for this galimatias and hopes the Prince will not show it to anyone else:

For if in Richmond morning walk,
In want of other theme for talk,
The Queen, yourself, and sisters three,
(My letter brought on the tapis)
Should sit in judgment on poor me,
Methinks I hear my sentence pass,
Griffon, and looking like an ass.

¹*Ibid.*, 23 Oct., 1731.
****vii

The Queen, who does not love abuse,
But likes us Chamberlains to souse,
Will say "My God, that is so dull,
Why, Fretz! Your Pilade is turned fool.
Ah! L'ignorant! Ah! Franchipan!
I pray you show that to the Anne."
She (whom I love and fear) will say "Esprit."
A word, which as she uses it,
One may interpret fool or wit.
The next is Princess Amelie,
For ever partial against me,
And as Your Royal Highness knows,
So like throughout to the gay rose,
That as her cheek its bloom adorns,
Her satire's tipped with all its thorns.
Dolce-piccante it contains,
And both at once delights and pains.
Last speaks the Princess Caroline,
Where justice, sense, and sweetness join.
To all she's affable and kind
And dumb to faults, tho' never blind.
If then the Rose should say "Strange stuff,"
She'll say, "No, no, 'tis well enough."
But when they come to pull and haul it,
To shrug, to criticise and maul it,
You, Sir, in pity to your friend,
Who must condemn, yet can't defend,
Will think vous aviez tort to show it,
And wish that Hervey ne'er may know it.¹

Thus in November 1731, Hervey was, or believed himself to be, Frederick's Pylades. In December, on his return to London, he found that he was not. On the 14th he writes to Fox: "That fool [the Prince] plagues my heart out. He is as false as he is silly, and appears everything he is not by turns but wise.—I can explain no further to you at this distance." On the 25th: "I have almost every day fresh instances of the falsehood as well as folly of [the Prince] and since it is impossible to correct the first, wherever it is so natural, I am not very solicitous, as you

¹*Ickworth MSS.*, 6 Nov., 1731.

may imagine, to rectify the errors of the last. Let their folly fall on their own head and their wickedness on their own pate. They neither know that I have detected them, nor ever shall." In a letter written on the 30th, "they" materialise: "The P[rince], Miss V[ane], and Dodington, were all last night at that pretty idiot Lady Deloraine's lodgings." By March it was generally rumoured that under the influence of Miss Vane, Frederick had transferred his confidence from Hervey to Dodington, a change which was interpreted as a symptom of his growing alienation from his parents, with whom it had been Hervey's policy to keep him on friendly terms.¹

The lady whose name was associated with Hervey's fall from favour had been one of Queen Caroline's maids of honour and had recently become Frederick's mistress. The peculiarity of this choice, which was to lead to the strangest rumours, was that Miss Vane had until very recently been Hervey's mistress as well. Her name had also been connected with Lord Harrington's and a year earlier scandal had made so free with it that she had felt it necessary to deny rumours that her absence from her duties at Court was due to her being with child.² By the end of 1731 denial was no longer possible. She retired or was dismissed from her post, and thenceforth was kept openly by Frederick who, by cutting down his charities, provided her with a house in Soho Square and an allowance of £1,600 a year.³ In June she gave birth to a child who was christened Fitzfrederick after his reputed father, but to whom both Hervey and Harrington were generally considered to have co-equal claims.⁴

It would be natural to suppose that the cause of Hervey's resentment was that Frederick had supplanted him in Miss Vane's favours, but the facts suggest that the chief

¹*Ickworth MSS.* and *Egmont*, 13 March, 1732.

²*Suffolk Letters*, Miss Vane to Mrs. Howard, 5 Oct., 1730.

³*Egmont*, 23 Feb. and 13 March, 1732; *Memoirs* p. 476.

⁴Cf. e.g. *Memoirs*, pp. 290 and 614.

cause of his anger was being supplanted in Frederick's by Miss Vane. His behaviour clearly implies that the Prince was completely ignorant of Miss Vane's past. Towards the end of April, in spite of his resolve in December, he could contain himself no longer. He caused a letter to be conveyed to Miss Vane, under colour of recommending a midwife, in which he upbraided her for her treachery in undermining him with Frederick and threatening that if she did not repair it he would discover what he knew of her and treat her as she deserved. On reading this letter Miss Vane (not for the last time) had a fit; Frederick had to be informed; bloodshed nearly ensued; Hervey, according to his own account, was forced to conceal his papers for fear the Prince should destroy both them and him; the whole royal family and Sir Robert Walpole shared Frederick's indignation; and for many months Hervey was in deep disgrace.¹ At the beginning of 1733 he is described as still being

at the lowest ebb of credit; he has tried the humblest and meanest ways imaginable to be reconciled to the Prince, but to no purpose; he attends his levy every day and has not for some months been spoken to. I was in company the other day where an accident happened that afforded entertainment to the company, but I believe not to the persons concerned. Miss V[ane] was making a visit and Lord H[ervey] came in. I believe it was the first time of their meeting after the extraordinary letter he wrote her. Her resentment and his address were both very particular, but she carried it with the haughtiness of an injured princess and would not afford him either a word or a look, though he addressed her in the most suppliant manner.²

The current explanation of Hervey's fall from favour was that he had attempted the impossible task of serving both Frederick and his parents. "The key of Vice-Chamberlain was given him," writes Hanbury Williams, "and as he thought to govern immediately he began with attempting

¹*Egmont*, 1 May, 1732, *Memoirs*, p. 867.

²Lady Irwin to Lord Carlisle, 16 Jan., 1733, *ut supra*.

the management of the Queen and the Prince of Wales at the same time, though they were at that time, to every person's eye at Court except his, almost declared enemies. How that came out, the Prince of Wales's inveterate personal enmity to him ever since very plainly shows."¹ This, though correct as far as it goes, is clearly not the whole story. Towards the end of 1731, Frederick had tired of Hervey, no doubt partly because he regarded him as too much of a servant of his parents to be a disinterested adviser to him. In his usual underhand way, due as much to timidity as duplicity, he tried to conceal his relations with his new adviser Dodington from his old one, thus immediately investing the affair with the appearance of an intrigue with Hervey as the dupe. This situation was aggravated by Frederick's simultaneous liaison with Miss Vane. By the world, as well as by Hervey, these two events were connected, and Frederick's coolness to Hervey was ascribed to the influence of Hervey's former mistress. It was exasperating for Hervey to have to allow a foolish but important youth to suppose that he could throw dust in his eyes; it was intolerable that his former mistress should have the impudence to aid and abet. Hence the violence and nature of the explosion which to Frederick, on the assumption that he was unacquainted with Miss Vane's relations with Hervey, must have appeared as an unpardonable interference by a subject in his private affairs.

So far as Miss Vane was concerned, the consequences of the quarrel were not permanent. The Memoirs tell the story of how their meetings in society led to a resumption of friendly relations and finally of all the intimacy in which they had formerly lived. But as regards Frederick, the breach was irreparable. The fury of Hervey's hatred for the Prince of Wales, which, like the Queen's, seems to increase as the Memoirs proceed, is shown by the extraordinary paper, which its author says he could never read

¹Character of Lord Hervey, *ut supra*.

daughter, Lady Bute. Neither ever admitted publicly to the authorship of the poem but the facts, so far as they are known, point to the lady as having written it and to the lord as having arranged for its anonymous publication. This accords with Pope's view. In his *Letter to a Noble Lord*, that is to say, to Hervey, he wrote that at first,

I took it for a *lady's*.—But soon after, her denial of it was brought to me by a noble person of real honour and truth. Your Lordship indeed said you had it from a lady and the lady said it was your Lordship's; some thought the beautiful bye-blow has two fathers, or (if one of them will hardly be allowed a man) two mothers; indeed I think both sexes had a share in it, but which was uppermost I know not. I pretend not to determine the exact method of this witty fornication, and if I call it yours, my Lord, it is only because, whoever got it, you brought it forth.

In other words, Lady Mary, possibly with Hervey's assistance, had written it, while Hervey had arranged for its publication, and this is still the accepted view.

In November there appeared a further attack on Pope, under the title of *An Epistle from a Nobleman to a Doctor of Divinity: In answer to a Latin Letter in Verse: written from H . . . n C . . . t.* This characteristic example of Hervey's unfortunate facility for writing letters in rhyme had been published without his consent or approval by Dr. Sherwin, the clergyman to whom it was addressed. However, when approached by Arbuthnot on behalf of Pope, he owned himself the author of the Epistle and defiantly declared that Pope "was a rascal, had begun with me and deserved it; and that my only reason for being sorry the verses were printed, which I did not design they should be, was because I thought it below me to enter into a paper war with one that has made himself by his late works as contemptible as he was odious." To Henry Fox he admitted that he had stirred up a hornet's nest. Since "those detestable verses (he wrote), that proved so imprudent and Sherwin—himself, I must let you know that I have been the butt of every press and the song of every hawker

these last six weeks, tho' Pope himself has not written one word, but a manuscript in prose never printed, which he has shown to several of his friends, but which I have never seen, and which I have heard from those who did see it is very low and poor, ridiculing only my person and my being vain of overrated parts, and the undeserved favour of a court."¹

To Stephen Fox he had already written on the same lines, concluding: "Pope is in a most violent fury and j'en suis ravi."²

The manuscript in prose to which Hervey refers in such slighting terms was the *Letter to a Noble Lord*, and the passage on his person was that which begins:

It is true, my Lord, I am short, not well shaped, generally ill dressed, if not sometimes dirty. Your Lordship and Ladyship are still in bloom; your figures such as rival the Apollo of Belvidere and the Venus of Medicis; and your faces so finished, that neither sickness nor passion can deprive them of colour. I will allow your own in particular to be the finest that ever *man* was blest with. Preserve it, my Lord, and reflect that to be a critic would cost it too many frowns, and to be a statesman too many wrinkles.

Fortunately for Hervey this masterpiece of irony and invective was withheld from publication, according to Horace Walpole in consideration of an abbey promised through the good offices of old Horace Walpole for one of Pope's friends. The reprieve, however, was only temporary and at the beginning of 1735 there appeared, in the semi-autobiographical poem entitled *The Epistle to Arbuthnot*, the great lampoon on Sporus. The detailed insults in this passage, where every line is barbed and every point is envenomed, require no elucidation; but the latent content of the whole cannot fully be grasped without understanding why Pope chose this name for Hervey.³

¹*Holland House MSS.*, 31 Jan., 1734.

²*Ibid.*, 6 Dec., 1733.

³"He [Nero] caused a boy of the freedmen, whom he used to call Sporus, to be castrated, since he, too, resembled Sabina, and he used him in every way like a wife. In due time . . . he finally 'married' Sporus," etc. *Dion Cassius*, lxii, Loeb Translation.

P. Let Sporus tremble—

A. What! that thing of silk?

Sporus! that mere white curd of ass's milk?

Satire or sense, alas! can Sporus feel?

Who breaks a butterfly upon a wheel?

P. Yet let me flap this bug with gilded wings,
This painted child of dirt that stinks and stings!
Whose buzz the witty and the fair annoys;
Yet wit ne'er tastes and beauty ne'er enjoys;
As well-bred spaniels civilly delight
In mumbling of the game they dare not bite.
Eternal smiles his emptiness betray,
As shallow streams run dimpling all the way.
Whether in florid impotence he speaks,
And as the prompter breathes the puppet squeaks;
Or at *the ear* of Eve, familiar toad!
Half froth half venom spits himself abroad,
In puns or politics, or tales, or lies,
Or spite, or smut, or rhymes, or blasphemies.
His wit all see-saw between *that* and *this*,
Now high, now low, now *master* up, now *miss*,
And he himself one vile antithesis.
Amphibious thing! that acting either part,
The trifling head or the corrupted heart,
Fop at the toilet, flatterer at the board,
Now trips a lady, and now struts a lord.
Eve's tempter thus the rabbins have express'd,
A cherub's face—a reptile all the rest!
Beauty that shocks you, parts that none can trust,
Wit that can creep, and pride that licks the dust!

After this, the unequal contest became purely unilateral. Hervey and Lady Mary subsided, but Pope's subsequent publications rarely failed to contain a venomous, coarse, or definitely filthy allusion to one or both of them.

By this time Hervey was extremely celebrated. Besides his quarrels with the leader of the opposition, the heir apparent, and the chief poet of the age, he was conspicuous

for the fact to which Pope draws attention in his simile of Satan and Eve: the extraordinary favour in which he stood with the Queen. During the Excise Bill crisis in 1733 his dual status as a court official and a member of the House of Commons had enabled him to make himself useful to the King and Queen by satisfying their insatiable curiosity at all hours of the day and night for the minutest details of the debates, and by the end of the session, when they migrated to Hampton Court, he was again in their good graces. Throughout the summer he devoted himself assiduously to the Queen, riding by her chaise when the King hunted, and entertaining her every morning, as she walked with her daughters, with the news he had picked up in London in the week-ends.¹ When they returned to St. James's the Queen's predilection for Hervey's society had reached a pitch which excited Frederick's jealousy. It was, he complained with some justice, extremely hard that a man who had been so impertinent to him, whom the whole world knew he never spoke to, should be picked out by the Queen for her constant companion and most distinguished favourite, and he told his sisters that the reason why he so seldom came to see his mother was Lord Hervey's always being there, adding that as she knew he had as lief see the devil as Hervey he supposed she kept Hervey with her to keep him away.² His remonstrances were not unreasonable. From his point of view Hervey bore some resemblance to Pope's familiar toad, spitting froth and venom into the Queen's ear. In reality the situation was even more curious than appeared on the surface. The Queen's partiality for her son's worst enemy was balanced by Lady Bristol's hot partisanship of Frederick. It was to this fact that Queen Caroline referred when, towards the close of her life, she proposed a double exchange. "Your mother," she said, "is a brute that deserves just such a beast as my son. I hope I do not; and wish with all my soul we could

¹*Memoirs*, p. 221.

²*Ibid.*, p. 279.

change, that they who are so alike might go together, and that you and I might belong to one another."¹

Hanbury Williams goes so far as to suggest that Hervey's success with the Queen was chiefly due to his quarrel with Frederick. But Hanbury Williams, like most men, found Hervey's personality antipathetic.

I own (he writes) I think he has fewer amiabilities and more disagreeables in him than most people. And to begin, he never, I believe, opened his heart to anybody on earth thoroughly, and in all the friendships he ever went into seemed to me to design they should be subservient to his views, his interests, and his pleasures. He insisted on knowing your thoughts, and constantly showed, nay declared you should not know his. He always knew, or pretended he knew, something more than he would communicate; and you were to follow his dictates without being informed of his reasons. Mysterious and supercilious in the midst of intimacy and alliance in party upon party points; insisting upon assistance, giving none; yet making the world believe he moved all the springs that his friends acted upon. Sir Robert believed it; and I believe it got him the Privy Seal. He affected to be learned, which he was not. What he knew he had got lately, and that was confined to a very few books. He was fond of writing verse, but wanted thought and even versification. His poems were ill imagined and worse turned. He succeeded better in prose. But in politics, though thoroughly well informed and helped by facts, yet his style was so strained, so affected, so full of antithesis, that it tired. His thoughts were overdressed, and his want of argument ill supplied by an unmeaning tangle of words. His conversation was turned to ridicule, and it was his forte. He laughed well at his enemies as well as at his friends. He could mimic well, and that helped out his descriptions very much.²

Hanbury Williams' twin portraits of Lord and Lady Hervey are too spiteful not to be resemblances. But to most men his silly snob seemed the incarnation of Millamant and on many women his affected egoist produced the effect of a Mirabel. Hervey's favour with the Queen requires no ulterior explanation. The price which this clever and cultivated woman paid for her power was acute

¹*Memoirs*, p. 820.

²"Character of Lord Hervey," *ut supra*.
xlviii

and painful boredom. If she attempted to indulge her own tastes, the King would rebuke her for dabbling in all that lettered nonsense, as he termed it, call her a pedant, and say that she loved to spend her time more like a school mistress than a Queen. From Hervey's description the intelligence of most of his colleagues in the Palace seems to have been almost sub-human. The ablest of the men whom she would normally be brought into contact with never opened a book. The King used to boast that he remembered as a child hating reading and learning not merely, like other children, on account of the confinement, but because he despised it and felt as if he were doing something mean and below him.¹ When Sir Robert Walpole retired he found that after twenty years of office he had lost the art of reading. In such surroundings a consummate courtier, who was also a cultivated man and a brilliant talker in the style of his day, had the field to himself. For the last years of her life he deliberately set himself up as her purveyor of entertainment. Never presuming on his monopoly, never missing his footing on the dangerous borderland between friendship and familiarity, he managed to convey his genuine love and admiration for the elderly and ailing woman, without failing in the respect which he owed to the Queen. On her side she treated him more as a son than a subject, called him her child, her pupil, and her charge, and affectionately accused him of taking liberties with her because he knew she could not live without him. In fact he had become indispensable to her. "No, my Lord," she replied, when he spoke of his leaving her, in her own interest, if the King had been drowned on his return voyage from Hanover and the Prince had come to the throne, "I should never have suffered that; you are one of the greatest pleasures of my life. But did I love you less than I do, or like less to have you about me, I should look upon suffering you to be taken from me, or the suffering

¹*below*, p. 261.

you to take yourself from me upon such an occasion, after the manner you have lived with me and behaved to me, to be such a reflection on me and to betray such a meanness and baseness in me, that I assure you, you should not have stirred an inch." The two Princesses treated him as a member of the family; indeed the Princess Caroline was reputed to have treated him as something more. The King himself viewed him with the indulgent eye of a husband whose wife has secured an innocuous plaything. During and immediately after her illness Hervey was the only stranger he could bear to have about him, and in her last moments, when the Princess Caroline was sent for, he sent for Hervey too.

When Queen Caroline died Hervey was over forty and still only Vice-Chamberlain. Though one of the most prominent and useful supporters of the Government, not only in the Palace but in the House of Lords, to which he had been raised in 1733 in order to strengthen ministerial debating power there, and as a prolific and forcible pamphleteer, he continued in a post normally held by some minor court official at a salary of £600 a year.¹ His nominal status, of course, in no way corresponded to his importance; so long as the Queen lived he was, so to speak, chief eunuch of the Palace with a reasonable possibility of becoming grand vizier. But with her death most of the compensations of this anomalous position disappeared and the Memoirs close with his letter to Walpole, asking how much longer he was expected to spend his life carrying candles and placing chairs.

Sir Robert was profuse in his assurances but in no hurry to implement them. His reluctance to promote Hervey to an office commensurate with his talents and services is explained by the opposition evoked when, towards the end of 1739, he at last announced the decision to appoint him Lord Privy Seal. The Duke of Newcastle was, of

¹Hervey states that in 1734 he was given a personal allowance of £1,000 a year extra. See *below*, p. 348.

course, unaware that the following description of him under fire in the House of Lords had already been penned for the benefit of future ages:

His Grace of Argyll stared the Duke of Newcastle in the face every time he said anything he designed should be applied to him, and particularly the name of fool, the Duke of Newcastle all the while appearing under the utmost uneasiness, not knowing what to do, what to say, which way to look, and, doubling the rapidity of all those graceful motions and attitudes which, even when he was not out of countenance, used to take their turn in his figure, whilst he picked his nose, his ears, and every other nasty thing that belonged to him.¹

But, as the Duke wrote, he had had quite enough
samples of my Lord Hervey's good will towards me in the House of Lords and of what I am to expect whenever he shall have power equal to his inclinations and there is not one Lord in the House that does not know that Sir Robert Walpole and Mr. Pulteney are not more opposite to one another in the House of Commons than my Lord Hervey and I are with regard to our mutual inclinations to one another in our House.

Nor had Hervey been more discreet in the cases of the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Chamberlain. How, Newcastle asked Lord Hardwicke, would he like it,

when the man is placed next to you in rank (for my Lord President takes no share in the debates) who is the only man in the whole House that has ever presumed to behave indecently to you, which he has done on more occasions than one; whose principle and practice, instilled into all his little clique, is to cast a slur upon that profession of which your lordship is the head, and to endeavour tho' without success to wound you thro' the side of the law, which is the constant topic of all his conversations, and in places where, it will I fear, have greater weight when he is advanced to a higher status?

As for the Lord Chamberlain, the Duke went on:

Can anything be a greater slight or mortification to the Duke of Grafton than to see the man who when deputy to him in his office,

¹below, p. 737.

behaved in such manner as his best friends could not justify . . . not only brought into the Cabinet Council, but in a rank superior to him, and who will thus be most encouraged to employ his talents, as he has always done, in lessening and undermining all those whom he by his behaviour has made his enemies?¹

It is not surprising that Walpole should long have hesitated to introduce into the Cabinet a personality so offensive to his colleagues. He remained unresponsive to Hervey's repeated suggestions that the Duke of Newcastle might be eliminated. Perhaps he was not wholly unaware that Hervey, if necessary, was quite prepared to eliminate him too.² When at length he decided to avail himself of Lord Godolphin's impending retirement to introduce Hervey into the Cabinet, it was because these objections had lost their weight. The outbreak of war with Spain had impaired Walpole's authority, the war party in the Cabinet were in the ascendant, and his relations with the Duke of Newcastle in particular were strained to the verge of breaking. Newcastle's antipathy to Hervey had therefore ceased to matter; on the contrary Walpole told the Duke brutally that he did not care how uneasy or dissatisfied he might feel. On the other hand, the new recruit's bitter tongue and high abilities might help Walpole, now isolated in his own Cabinet, to deal with his refractory colleagues; as Newcastle put it, Hervey could be used "as a rod to scourge us into good behaviour." In a great state of agitation and using his wife as an amanuensis, thus combining secrecy with legibility, the Duke poured forth his soul to Lord Hardwicke on this great event, as he called Hervey's impending promotion, into which he read so many alarming political implications that the letter seems to have taken the Duchess two days to copy.

In Newcastle's opinion Hervey's appointment was a sinister court intrigue, sponsored out of personal spite by

¹ Add. MSS. 35406 f. 164, 14-16 Oct., 1739.

² below, p. 924.

the Prime Minister, to substitute Hervey and his henchman Henry Fox, now a rising younger politician, for the Duke himself and his brother, Henry Pelham, as Walpole's political legatees. Hitherto, he pointed out, the accredited spokesman of the Government in the Upper House had been the Lord Chancellor; "every man in the House of Lords now knows that yours is the sense of the King's administration." How long, he enquired, would that last after Hervey's elevation to high political office?

The great encomiums that are given to his abilities show that, (in the opinion of these that give them) they are equal to anybody's and if any circumstance in his conduct should give him the preference with them to others, it must be expected that his promoters, who have carried him so high, would go one step further and set him quite at the head of the House of Lords; and it is not going far to imagine that this may be done with a view to have that in their power as well as to be an immediate check, both in Council and Parliament, upon those who may ever have professed, tho' in the most unexceptional manner, to have differed from them.

Similarly in the House of Commons, Henry Pelham was at present deputy leader, but

the moment this flag of power and court credit is hung out, that little clique of people [*i.e.* Hervey's friends in the House of Commons, headed by Henry Fox] . . . will endeavour to do all they can to eclipse my brother and to persuade everybody that theirs is the channel to favour and preferment.

What (Newcastle continued) can the world think then to see him Lord Privy Seal, so improper in every respect, as to his rank, his manner of life, and even that scheme which he seems himself to have laid down for his own future preferment? The world must think that for some reason I am not at present to be laid aside, but to be made useless, and that this man was brought in to have the confidence and real trust of the Ministry; for his behaviour towards me has been such that this extraordinary mark of favour towards him cannot be consistent with the least remains of regard towards me; and in this light I do, and shall ever, look upon this step as it relates to myself. I shall only add one consideration more upon this head that is common to us all; and that is that those who think their age, health and other circumstances may not permit them to continue

long in the administration will take effective care by this measure to make the succeeding one as disagreeable to us four as 'tis possible.¹

Newcastle's vision of Hervey as a King's friend, basing himself on power and court credit, and acting in conjunction with Henry Fox in the House of Commons, is historically interesting in the light of what occurred some twenty years later when, by a similar combination, his power was at length laid low. The analogy is strengthened by the language in which Hervey himself was to describe his own politics:

I belong (he told George II in 1742) to no class, faction or party; have no attachment but to your service; no connexion but to your interest and inclination; belong to you and no other, and am attacked and pursued for no other reason.²

Substitute "Bute" for "Hervey" and all this might be occurring in the early days of George III when another courtier under another King carried into execution a project usually attributed to the influence of the doctrines of the still unpublished *Patriot King* and the plots hatched at the court of Frederick, Prince of Wales.

For the present these alarms were premature. A few mordant descriptions of Cabinet meetings are the sole surviving traces of the new Privy Seal's activities, but these soon cease, and Newcastle's correspondence contains no indication that Hervey gave the Duke another moment's uneasiness. To a certain extent this can be attributed to the fact that during the war the ordinary Cabinet tended to be superseded by a smaller body of which Hervey was not a member. In any case, however, an anticipation of Bute was out of the question, for Hervey had joined a moribund Government and was himself a dying man.

There is no means of forming an opinion as to the exact state of Hervey's health after his own account of it ends

¹ Add. MSS. 35406, f. 164.

² below, Appendix I, p. 946.

in 1731. But at the end of 1737 it was bad, and in the opinion of his friends more likely to deteriorate than improve, and to the same time belongs the old Duchess of Marlborough's description of his personal appearance: "a painted face and not a tooth in his head." The next glimpse of him, during the crisis of Walpole's government at the beginning of 1742, though the illness is ascribed to diplomatic reasons, is of a very sick man:

Lord Hervey (wrote Horace Walpole) is too ill to go to operas, yet with a coffin face is as full of his dirty politics as ever. He *will not* be well enough to go to the House till the majority is certain somewhere, but lives shut up with my Lord Chesterfield and Mr. Pulteney—a triumvirate who hate one another more than anybody they could proscribe, had they the power. Upon losing the first question Lord Hervey kept away for a week; upon our carrying the next great one, he wrote to Sir Robert how much he desired to see him, "not upon any business but Lord Hervey longs to see Sir Robert Walpole."

Hervey's behaviour during this crisis is really of pathological rather than political interest. In theory he knew that everything was over with him; people, he writes in May, "from thinking my natural death not far off and my political demise already over, have all forgot the death-bed of the one and the coffin of the other." In practice he applied to his political life the maxim which he enunciates of his physical one, that existence on any terms is preferable to no existence at all. He could not bring himself to face the fact that there could be no place for him in a government dominated on his own admission by Frederick, Newcastle, and Pulteney. The most painful scenes took place when it became necessary for George II to insist, with the utmost kindness and consideration, on his surrendering his office, and to explain that it was impossible to grant his entreaties to be given some compensation, however small, even if it were only a Lordship of the Bedchamber. Alternately threatening and imploring, invoking the ashes of the dead Queen and grossly insulting

the King to his face, he behaved as if determined to prove by the last act of his life the justice of the last line of Pope's lampoon. In fact, it can hardly be doubted that this hysterical conduct must be imputed to the disease which had already transformed him from an Adonis into a coffin-faced, toothless, prematurely decrepit figure of fun. He had become liable to senile aberrations. In November Horace Walpole recorded:

The late Lord Privy Seal has had a most ridiculous accident at Bath; he used to play in a little inner room; but one night some ladies had got it and he was reduced to the public room; but being extremely absent and deep in politics he walked through the little room to a convenience behind the curtain, from whence (still absent) he produced himself in a situation extremely diverting to the women: imagine his delicacy, and the passion he was in at their laughing.

"The last stages of an infirm life are filthy roads." So he wrote in a shaky hand to his old friend, Lady Mary a few weeks before his death. Amidst the titters of the younger generation he drove down them, haranguing, pamphleteering, versifying to the last. He spoke in the House of Lords against the Government and the Hanoverian troops; composed two anti-Ministerial pamphlets and a political ballad. He created a momentary sensation by suddenly marrying his eldest daughter, Lepel, to the heir of the crazy old Duchess of Buckingham, who was said to have received him for the purpose in the great drawing-room of Buckingham House on the 30th January, seated in a chair of state in deep mourning, attended by her women in weeds, in memory of her grandfather, the royal martyr, and to have made him swear fealty to the House of Stuart. On her death, a few weeks later, she was found to have left him the future Buckingham Palace for life, but he did not think it worth moving into; he was comfortable in St. James's Square, and perhaps he felt the tenure was too short. On the 8th August, 1743, he died. Pope, engaged in bringing the *Dunciad* up to date for a new

edition, perceived the need for a further alteration. In the heavenly orchestra of dead dunces, he had written,

highborn Howard, more majestic sire,
Impatient waits till H . . . y joins the quire.

The next edition read:

With fool of quality completes the quire.

From internal evidence Hervey seems to have begun the *Memoirs* early in 1733.¹ They consist of an introductory account of the history of the reign down to the middle of 1730, after which they skip nearly two and a half years and resume at the end of 1732 on a much more extensive and steadily increasing scale. Only one hundred and twenty pages are concerned with the opening years of the reign. The remainder of the book is based on Hervey's journals of the five years ending in 1737 with the death of the Queen.

Hervey himself has described his method of writing. Apologising for lack of polish, he speaks of "the little leisure I have for writing and correcting; the incapacity, consequently, I am under of recopying my first draughts; and my setting down the things herein contained, just as they occur, and whilst they are fresh in my memory."² It is true that he made the book a receptacle for a certain amount of dead matter: some of his own speeches, several King's speeches and other published official documents, long second-hand accounts of foreign affairs, and a précis of the history of Sicily from the earliest times which he had evidently prepared for some other purpose and thought it a pity to waste. But these patches are rare compared, for

¹ E.g. on page 8 he mentions his quarrel with Pulteney and on pp. 96-98 he refers to the Prince of Wales in terms incompatible with their friendly relations up to 1732.

² *below*, p. 363.

example, with the *Saharas* of St. Simon, and, unlike St. Simon, he possesses the merit of writing from his own and not from somebody else's diaries.

He is really more comparable, and has indeed been compared, to Boswell—a Boswell of the royal family. In real life a good mimic, he possesses some of Boswell's gift of reproducing a conversation with great dramatic power. The living tissue of the *Memoirs* is talk: Sir Robert Walpole's, oscillating "from politics to obscenity and from obscenity to politics"; the King's explosive outbursts; and above all the daily *tête-à-têtes* with the Queen. It is this gift, together with unequalled conditions for exercising it, that accounts for the freshness of his *Memoirs* when those of Horace Walpole are no more than dry bones.

Naturally such a work is not susceptible of detailed control. Its substance, however, that is to say the general picture of the Palace in its domestic and political aspects, is amply confirmed from other sources, and in particular by Horace Walpole, who derived his information chiefly from his father and Lady Suffolk. The authority of the *Memoirs* in their limited sphere has, in fact, never been seriously challenged. Hervey has been criticised for his ruthless exploitation of his intimacy with the royal family but not for exaggerating that intimacy. Though, like Greville, he may be regarded as guilty of an outrage on the decencies of private life, he cannot be charged with listening at the door, for in the case of most of his revelations he was literally in the room.

The *Memoirs* have been blamed for their coarseness and harshness. The first quality is entirely, and the second very largely, a reflection of the age. As Croker observed, in Hervey's time "the best bred men and the most elegant women talked and wrote in a style that has long been banished from good society. They were in the habit, as Swift said and practised, 'of calling a spade a spade'; and, without asserting dogmatically—that both the morals and manners of modern society are essentially improved, we

may at least venture to say that they are more decorous." These observations apply to the point of view of polite society in the early eighteenth century as well as to its language. A great deal of the apparent savagery of the Memoirs is merely common form of the period and due to a rudimentary psychology, which built "characters" out of little blocks of qualities, and to an obsolete wit, which achieved its effects by methods differing little, by modern standards, from crude downright abuse.

A further influence which went to the moulding of Hervey's outlook was that of his political set. He was one of Walpole's young men and it is well known that Walpole made a point of debauching the political morals of his boys, preaching a rationalised scoundrelism, systematically deriding political decencies, and using his prestige and influence, with considerable success, to lower the tone of public life. Shelburne has described the effects of this gospel upon one of Walpole's most distinguished disciples. In a seemlier age Henry Fox refused to conceal the fact that he regarded office as the sole object of politics and corruption as the only means to obtain it.—"I give you so much, and you shall give me in return, and so we'll defy the world and sing *Tol de rol*, etc. His abilities and conversation," Shelburne continues, "taking this form, habit had so confirmed it that, when I knew him, he looked upon every other reasoning a mere loss of time, or as a sure mark of folly or the greatest knavery."

Finally, there is the obvious analogy and influence of the two great physical defectives of the period, Pope and Swift. The affinity between the Memoirs and Pope's lines on "the damned at Court," which appeared soon after Hervey started writing, is particularly striking. The following passage, in which Hervey justifies himself against the anticipated charge of defaming his contemporaries, provides another example of the same sort, if it is not a case of unconscious imitation:

I am determined to report everything just as it is, or at least just as it appears to me; and those who have a curiosity to see courts and courtiers dissected must bear with the dirt they find in laying open such minds with as little nicety and as much patience as in a dissection of their bodies, if they wanted to see that operation, they must submit to the stench.¹

Certainly the metaphor might be expected to suggest itself without outside assistance to the author of the accounts of his own illness and of the Queen's death-bed. But it is a curious coincidence that Hervey should apply to his own circle the two most offensive epithets that Pope applied to him.

When the Memoirs appeared it was observed that Hervey and Horace Walpole jointly were almost wholly responsible for posterity's impressions of the eighteenth century. This is still largely true. Since Coxe published his life of Sir Robert Walpole in 1798 the only substantial addition to historical knowledge on the years covered by Hervey is M. Vaucher's *Walpole et la politique de Fleury*, which has little bearing on the Memoirs, being primarily concerned with foreign policy. The period of Walpole is being slowly opened up by Professor Wolfgang Michael's *Englische Geschichte im 18^{ten} Jahrhundert*, but railhead in the case of this great undertaking has not yet advanced beyond 1720. The duties of an editor of the Memoirs are thus comparatively simple. As Hervey is writing for posterity he avoids the obscurities of the ordinary diarist; and as posterity has yet to write its own history of his time, it is seldom possible to correct or supplement him. Nothing is to be gained by amassing corroborative evidence from Horace Walpole and Lord Egmont, both markedly inferior authorities on his specificity, the Court. This being so, the question of the amount

¹below, p. 347.

of annotation desirable solves itself. Dates of the various occurrences are given in the margin, and of the births and deaths of the principal personages in the index, under the titles by which they figure in the Memoirs.

1727 TO 1734



By the gracious permission of H.M. the King

GEORGE II
by Roubiliac

By the gracious permission of H.M. the King

GEORGE II
by Roubiliac

SOME MATERIALS
TOWARDS
MEMOIRS OF THE REIGN
OF
KING GEORGE THE SECOND

OASTING of intelligence and professing impartiality are such worn-out prefaces to writings of this kind, that I shall not trouble my readers nor myself with any very long exordium upon these topics. All I shall say for my intelligence is that I was lodged all the year round in the Court during the greater part of these times concerning which I write; and as nobody attended more constantly in public, or had more frequent access at private hours to all the inhabitants, I must have been deaf and blind not to have heard and seen several little particularities which must necessarily be unknown to such of my contemporaries as were only acquainted with the chief people of this Court in the theatrical pageantry of their public characters, and never saw them when that mask of constraint and hypocrisy, essential to their stations, was enough thrown off for some natural features to appear.

As to my being partial, whatever professions I make to disclaim it can be of no weight, since whoever is so must always be it, either without knowing or without owning it, for to confess it would be to defeat the purpose for which they are so. But as it is generally flattery or interest which

makes people either partial or insincere in their reports, I am certainly under neither of these influences, as it will be impossible for me to publish these writings whilst I live, and consequently to propose any advantage from my insincerity or any reward for my flattery. And where that source (reward) does not feed the stream of flattery, I fancy the current will never be very strong.

Those who expect I should be very correct or methodical in my accounts, will be extremely mistaken. I write more to people's curiosity than for their approbation; to inform rather than to please; and shall set things of public and of private, national and personal, foreign and domestic concern, promiscuously down just as they occur, without troubling myself about the accuracy of the style in which I relate them, or the chronological exactness in which I range them.

The things that might be commonly known I shall conclude too are so, and may therefore perhaps often neglect reciting what is as public as the contents of a gazette, though it might be thought necessary to illustrate the accounts I shall give of more private transactions, and connect little incidents less likely to be inserted in all other records of this reign.

As to the disagreeable egotisms with which almost all memoir writers so tiresomely abound, I shall endeavour to steer as clear of them as I can, and whenever I must give into them I shall have recourse to the old refuge of speaking always of myself in the third person, in order to make them less glaring and to prevent the natural consequences of pursuing the thread of my history of others being imputed to a foolish vanity and impertinent desire of troubling the world with my own, which, indeed, would be of as little use to me as to posterity, and conduce no more to my profit than to their entertainment. I leave those ecclesiastical heroes of their own romances, Retz and Burnet, to aim at that useless imaginary glory of being thought to influence every considerable event they relate;

and I very freely declare that my part in this drama was only that of the Chorus's in the ancient tragedies, who, by constantly being on the stage, saw everything that was done, and made their own comments upon the scene, without mixing in the action or making any considerable figure in the performance.

Thus much I thought it right to say with regard to what I propose in undertaking this work and the manner in which I intend to pursue it; and as factions and party have in all ages been the principal engine in all governments, and as they are generally of most force where the state is most free, I think it will not be improper to add to this exordium a short account of the factions and parties subsisting in England at the era I have chosen for the commencement of these memoirs.

Whig and Tory had been the denominations by which men opposite in their political views had distinguished themselves for many years and through many reigns. Those who were called Whigs had been in power from the first accession of the Hanover family to the Crown; but the original principles on which both these parties were said to act altered so insensibly in the persons who bore the names, by the long prosperity of the one, and the adversity of the other, that those who called themselves Whigs arbitrarily gave the title of Tory to every one who opposed the measures of the administrations or whom they had a mind to make disagreeable at Court; whilst the Tories (with more justice) reproached the Whigs with acting on those very principles and pushing those very points which, to ingratiate themselves with the people and to assume a popular character, they had at first set themselves up to explode and oppose.

The two chief characteristics of the Tories originally were the espousing of the prerogative and the dignity of the Church; both which they pretended were now become, if not by profession, at least by practice, much more the care of the Whigs. Nor were the Whigs quite innocent

of this imputation; long service and favour had gradually taught them a much greater complaisance to the Crown than they had formerly paid to it, and the power of the Crown being an engine at present in their own hands, they were not very reluctant to keep up an authority they exercised, and support the prerogative which was their own present though precarious possession. The assistance, likewise, which the Whigs in power had received from the bench of bishops in parliamentary affairs, had made them show their gratitude there too, by supporting both them and the inferior clergy in all ecclesiastical concerns (except the suffering the Convocation to sit), with as much vigour and firmness as the most zealous of those who are called the Church Party could have done. The increase of the army and civil list, the repeated suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and frequent votes of credit in the late reign, were further instances that were often and not unreasonably given by the Tories of the Whigs deviating in their conduct from their original profession and principles.

Both Whigs and Tories were subdivided into two parties; the Tories into Jacobites and what were called Hanover Tories; the Whigs into patriots and courtiers, which was in plain English "Whigs in place" and "Whigs out of place." The Jacobite party was fallen so low, from the indolence of some, the defection of others, and the despair of all, that in reality it consisted only of a few veterans (and those very few) who were really Jacobites by principle, and some others who, educated in that calling, made it a point of honour not to quit the name, though their attachment to the person of the Pretender was not only weakened but, properly speaking, entirely dissolved, their consciences quiet about his title, and their reverence to his character, their compassion for his misfortunes, and their hopes of his success, quite worn out.

That which kept this party still alive and gave it that little weight it yet retained in the kingdom was that all

those who were by private views piqued at the administration without being disaffected to the government joined the Jacobites in Parliament and pushed the same points, though on different motives; these only designing to distress the ministers, and those catching at anything that might shake the establishment of the Hanover family, and tend to the subversion of the whole. By these means men oftentimes seemed united in their public conduct who differed as much in their private wishes and views from one another as they did from those they opposed; and whilst they acted in concert together, both thought they were playing only their own game, and each looked upon the other as his dupe.

This was the state of the Jacobite party at the death of the late King, and without these recruits, raised by the defection of Whigs upon interested motives and contention for power, I am of opinion that the Pretender's party would by that time have been as dead in this kingdom as if he himself had been so. The little interest he had in any court abroad made his partisans expect little external assistance, and the notion of hereditary right at home had been so long ridiculed and exploded that there were few people whose loyalty was so strong, or whose understanding was so weak, as to retain and act upon it. The conscientious attachment to the natural right of this or that king, and the religious reverence to God's anointed, was so far eradicated by the propagation of the revolution principles that mankind was become much more clear-sighted on that score than formerly they were, and so far comprehended and gave into the doctrine of a king being made for the people and not the people for the king that in all their steps it was the interest of the nation or the interest of particular actors that was considered, and never the separate interest of one or the other king. And though one might be surprised (if any absurdity arising from the credulity and ignorance of mankind could surprise one) how the influence of power could ever have found means

to establish the doctrine of divine right of kings, yet no one can wonder that the opinion lost ground so fast when it became the interest even of the princes on the throne for three successive reigns to expel it. The clergy, who had been paid for preaching it up, were now paid for preaching it down; the legislature had declared it of no force in the form of our government, and contrary to the fundamental laws and nature of our constitution; and, what was more prevailing than all the rest, it was no longer the interest of the majority of the kingdom either to propagate or act on this principle. Consequently those who were before wise enough from policy to teach it were wise enough now from the same policy to explode it; and those who were weak enough to take it up only because they were told it were easily brought to lay it down by the same influence.

It will not be difficult, from what has been said of the state of party at this juncture in England, to perceive that the chief struggle now lay not between Jacobites and Hanoverians, or Tories and Whigs, but between Whigs and Whigs, who, conquerors in the common cause, were now split into civil contest among themselves, and had no considerable opponents but one another.

The heads of these two Whig parties were Sir Robert Walpole and Mr. Pulteney. The first was Chancellor of the Exchequer, First Commissioner of the Treasury, and Prime Minister. The other had been Secretary-at-War, disgraced, retaken into the administration as Cofferer, but failing in his endeavours to be made Secretary of State, had set himself at the head of the opposition to the Court, and meditated nothing but the ruin of Sir Robert Walpole, to whose account he placed the irremissible sin of putting the Duke of Newcastle into that employment he had pretended to.

The reasons why Sir Robert Walpole had given the preference to the Duke upon this occasion, I believe were these. He thought his Grace's quality and estate, his popularity in the country, and the great influence he had

in Parliament by the number of boroughs he commanded, were qualifications and appurtenances that would always make him a useful friend to any minister; and looked upon his understanding to be such as could never let him rise into a dangerous rival. Mr. Pulteney he knew was a man of parts, but not to be depended upon; one capable of serving a minister, but more capable of hurting him from desiring only to serve himself. He was a man of most inflexible pride, immeasurable ambition, and so impatient of any superiority, that he grudged the power of doing good even to his benefactor, and envied the favour of the Court to one who called him in to share it. He had as much lively ready wit as ever man was master of, and was, before politics soured his temper and engrossed his thoughts, the most agreeable and coveted companion of his time. He was naturally lazy, and continued so till he was out of employment. His resentment and eagerness to annoy first taught him application. Application gave him knowledge, but knowledge did not give him judgment, nor experience, prudence. He was changeable in his wishes, vehement in the pursuit of them, and dissatisfied in the possession. He had strong passions; was seldom sincere but when they ruled him, cool and unsteady in his friendships, warm and immovable in his hate, naturally not generous, and made less so by the influence of a wife whose person he loved but whose understanding and conduct neither had nor deserved his good opinion and whose temper both he and every other body abhorred—a weak woman with all the faults of a bad man, of low birth, a lower mind, and the lowest manners, and without any one good, agreeable, or amiable quality but beauty.

It was very remarkable in Mr. Pulteney, that he never liked the people with whom he acted chiefly in his public character, nor loved those with whom he passed his idler hours. Sir Robert Walpole, with whom he was first leagued, he has often declared both in public and in private, in conversation and in print, he never esteemed;

and Lord Bolingbroke, with whom he was afterwards engaged, neither he nor any other body could esteem. Lord Chesterfield and Mr. George Berkeley, with whom he lived in the most seeming intimacy, he mortally hated; but continued that seeming intimacy long after he did so, merely from a refinement of pride, and an affectation of being blind to what nobody else could help seeing. They had both made love to his wife, and though, I firmly believe, both unsuccessfully, yet many were of a contrary opinion; for her folly, her vanity, her coquetry, had given her husband the same jealousy, and the world the same suspicion, as if she had gone all those lengths in private which her public conduct, without one's being very credulous, would naturally have led one to believe.

Between Mr. Pulteney and Sir William Wyndham (the head of the Hanover Tories and his colleague in all public affairs) there was such a serious rivalry for reputation in oratory, interest with particulars, knowledge in business, popularity in the country, weight in Parliament, and the numbers of their followers, that the superior enmity they bore to men in power alone hindered that which they felt to one another from eclating.

Lord Hervey lived in friendship and intimacy with him many years, but the manner in which Mr. Pulteney broke with him showed that his attachment there was not much deeper rooted in his heart than that artificial kindness he wore towards those who deserved no real affection at his hands.

Those who thought that Mr. Pulteney was never good-humoured, pleasing, honourable, friendly, and benevolent, knew him not early; those who never thought him otherwise knew him not long; for no two men ever differed more from one another in temper, conduct, and character, than he from himself in the compass of a few years.

From what has been said, it will be easy to perceive there were many ingredients in Mr. Pulteney's composition that might deter Sir Robert Walpole from making

such a man Secretary of State; but one very material objection, besides what has already been mentioned, I believe was this.

When the animosity between Lord Townshend and Lord Carteret, the two Secretaries of State at that time, was grown to such a height that it was impossible for them to serve longer together, and that each of them was struggling to subvert the other, Mr. Pulteney thought by his dexterity so to manage his affairs that, whoever was the sacrifice, he should be the successor. To this end he entered into a secret correspondence and treaty with Lord Carteret, of which Sir Robert Walpole got intelligence, and from that moment resolved, since Mr. Pulteney had endeavoured to secure himself an entrance at this other door in case it was opened, that at least he should never come in where he held the key.

It is very possible that I may be thought to dwell too long upon this part of my introduction; but as the anger of this Achilles made so considerable a figure, and for so long a time, in England, I thought the particulars of its rise, and the whole character of this remarkable and, with all his imperfections, certainly great man, would not be an unsatisfactory digression to posterity.

And since I look upon this introduction as a sort of *dramatis personæ* to the following work, and that the chief actors in the political part of it are Sir Robert Walpole and Mr. Pulteney, Sir William Wyndham and Lord Bolingbroke, I shall add a short sketch also of the three other characters, at least so far as shall enable the reader to guess, by what passed antecedent to this reign, the distant springs and causes of many events that happened in it.

Lord Bolingbroke was first employed, in Queen Anne's reign, by the Duke of Marlborough and the Lord Treasurer Godolphin, whom he abandoned at the change of her Whig ministry. He was again brought into business and power by the Lord Treasurer Oxford, whom he undermined, supplanted in the Queen's favour, and turned out.

Few people disputed, and fewer still doubted, his having been in the Pretender's interest before the death of the Queen. As soon as the Hanover family came to the Crown, he was impeached of high treason, did not dare to stand his trial, fled, and was attainted. He then entered immediately, publicly, and avowedly, into the Pretender's service, but was soon discarded by him, and returned to France. The occasion of this disgrace was said to be his having betrayed the Pretender in order to gain his pardon at the Court of England. But as this was a fact difficult in its nature to be proved against him by those who were not concerned in it, and very improper to be proved by those who were, he always denied it, though without convincing anybody that he was guiltless of the charge.

¹The Queen herself told me, eight years after she came to the Crown, that Madame de Villette, at Leicester House,² had made a merit to her of Lord Bolingbroke's having entered into the Pretender's service, because she said he had done it with no other view than to serve the Court of London and earn his pardon. "That was, in short (said the Queen, when she told me this), to betray the Pretender; for though Madame de Villette softened the word, she did not soften the thing; which I own (continued the Queen) was a speech that had so much villainy and impudence mixed in it, that I could never bear him nor her from that hour; and could hardly hinder myself from saying to her: 'And pray, Madam, what security can the King have that my Lord Bolingbroke does not desire to come here with the same honest intent that he went to Rome? Or that he swears he is no longer a Jacobite with more truth than you have sworn you are not his wife.' " That Lady Bolingbroke made this confession to the

¹The following account of what the Queen told Lord Hervey in 1735-6 is a later addition, on a separate sheet of paper marked for insertion in the body of the original manuscript.

²George II.'s residence as Prince of Wales, and after him of Frederick, and George III. till he came to the throne.

Queen, I learned, as I have said before, from the Queen herself; and it was so universally believed that he betrayed the Pretender that from that period the stanch Jacobites always hated and vilified him as much as the stanchest Whigs. Everybody knew that in Lord Sunderland's administration, and by his mediation, Lord Bolingbroke obtained the King's pardon, and (as he pretended) an absolute promise of the full reversal of his attainder, with the restitution of his honour and estate; but on what conditions and for what consideration he could receive this full forgiveness, and even promise of reward, those who deny his having betrayed the Pretender would be puzzled to say.¹ For the twelve thousand pounds given by Madame de Villette (niece to Madame de Maintenon²), whom he married in France, to Lady Walsingham (niece to the King's mistress, the Duchess of Kendal³), was never paid, nor offered, nor negotiated for, till seven years after this promise was obtained. Lord Sunderland died; but Lord Bolingbroke, notwithstanding, came back to England in 1723 by virtue of an Act of Parliament, which enabled him to inherit his father's estate but did not restore his dignity and entailed the estate, in case he had not children, on his brother, leaving him a power of raising no more than £10,000 upon it. Sir Robert Walpole was then at the head of the Ministry, and on him fell all the resentment of Lord Bolingbroke for this failure in two such material articles of what he pretended had been promised him, though it is certain the King never owned he had made

¹The consideration was to have been Tory support for the Government against Walpole and the opposition Whigs. The plan leaked out and caused such an outcry that it was hastily dropped. See Michael (ii. 607-11), who acquits Bolingbroke of betraying the Pretender or turning informer.

²Madame de Villette, Lord Bolingbroke's second wife, was connected only by marriage with Madame de Maintenon, who was her first husband's first cousin.

³She was reputed to be the Duchess's daughter by George I. She accompanied the Duchess to England, was created Countess of Walsingham in 1722, and married Lord Chesterfield in 1733.

such a promise, and if he had, the cry of the whole nation at that time ran so strong against Lord Bolingbroke that most people were then of opinion if it had been proposed in Parliament it would not only have shaken the Whig interest, by splitting and tearing the party to pieces, but have proved too much for the influence of the Court to have carried through, as omnipotent as some at that time might imagine it.

Madame de Villette, who was then in England soliciting his cause at Court, instead of being satisfied with the bargain of this Act of Parliament for her £12,000, carried her resentment of it so high that she declared publicly to every one she met that the Ministers had not only made the King break his word, but had so clogged and loaded what they called benefits, “que les faveurs du Roi étoient des affronts”; and that if she knew Lord Bolingbroke at all, she was sure he had rather live an exile all his days than submit to an imperfect restoration on such cramped, dishonourable terms. The sequel showed she either did not know him, or pretended not to know him; for home he came, and only on these terms. The first thing he did when he came to England was so like the last thing he did before he left it that, notwithstanding all the declarations he made of his ambition being quite extinct, of his seeking and desiring nothing but quiet, oblivion, retirement, and a harbour from the political storms in which he had been so long tossed, he began immediately to enter anew into court intrigues, parliamentary cabals, and paper war, and retrace all the paths that had before brought him to the brink of ruin. He began again, by pamphlets, to attack the conduct of public affairs, both foreign and domestic; to endeavour to turn the persons of those concerned in the administration into ridicule, their understandings into contempt, and their actions into errors and crimes.

Soon after his return, he acknowledged Madame de Villette his wife, which everybody knew she had been for

some time, though not a year before she had solemnly forsworn her being so in a court of judicature, in order to draw a sum of money out of the hands of a banker, Sir Matthew Decker, who pretended (very likely only for the advantage of fingering the money a little longer) that without a decree in Chancery he could not be secure in delivering. The banker said, if she was Lord Bolingbroke's wife, as was currently reported and by everybody believed, her money was his; and as his was forfeited by his attainder to the Government, consequently any banker in whose hands it was lodged would, notwithstanding the repayment to his wife, be accountable to the Government for it. This chicane of the banker's put her ladyship under the disagreeable difficulty of either risking her £52,000 (for the sum was no less), or denying that upon oath, which in a few months would be owned, and was already known, to all the world. However, her conscience and her interest had no long struggle; she forswore her marriage and received her money.

The pious Duchess of Kendal pretended to be extremely shocked at this conduct; but the sore it made carried its own cure along with it; for the money Lady Bolingbroke was by this means enabled to give to Lady Walsingham, and the influence Lady Walsingham (whose conscience was less delicate) had over her aunt, soon set matters so right that Lady Bolingbroke had again access to the Duchess, and by the force of a great deal of insinuation and dexterity (for nobody ever had more) she took such fast hold of this old, simple, easy, honest woman, and her avaricious fury of a niece, that Lord Bolingbroke got what he pleased suggested by his wife to the Duchess, and by the Duchess to the King. He did not fail to make use of this canal to convey all the bad impressions he could of Sir Robert Walpole; and he had so far gained her Grace, that he prevailed with her to deliver a letter to the King that contained a compendium of every accusation laid before or after in that weekly philippic, the *Craftsman*

Journal; and this at the very time when he was constantly telling Sir Robert that the very air he breathed was the gift of his bounty, and that without his assistance he must have passed his whole life in proscription, poverty, and exile. The letter concluded with a petition to the King to see him at the Duchess of Kendal's lodgings, a promise to prove in detail all he had advanced in the letter, and a desire, if he did not convince His Majesty in that audience that Sir Robert was the weakest minister any prince ever employed abroad, and the wickedest that ever had the direction of affairs at home, that the King would never hear nor see him any more.

The first use the King made of this letter was to show it to Sir Robert, and ask him what answer he should give to it. Sir Robert advised him to see Lord Bolingbroke, and hear all he had to say, which the King absolutely refused. But as Sir Robert imagined, in case he should advise the King to stick to that refusal, or not press him to retract it, that his enemies would insinuate it was his fear of what Lord Bolingbroke had to say that made him contrive to shut the King's ear to his accuser, he prevailed with His Majesty to consent to this interview. Sir Robert, who was now in possession of the letter, found out that it was the Duchess of Kendal had given it to the King, and as it was delivered open, he knew she must have been acquainted with the contents, and consequently could not have been much averse to its succeeding. It did so far succeed that the King saw Lord Bolingbroke, but for the last time, and His Majesty told Sir Robert everything that passed at this interview.

After his lordship had in a very long, florid exordium set forth his own merit, knowledge, and abilities, and entered into general accusations and invectives against Sir Robert, the King asked him what particular charge he could advance and prove to make good these general assertions; for that much more was requisite than what he had yet heard, to weaken his favour or alter his opinion of a

minister whose services he had already found so beneficial to him, in whose counsels he had so much confidence, and of whose judgment he had experienced so many proofs. To this Lord Bolingbroke made no other reply than recapitulating the same invectives in different words, telling the King how odious Sir Robert was to the people in general, how insolent to particulars; how ignorant he was thought in the foreign, how corrupt in the domestic; and, in short, that he was so despised abroad and hated at home, that, if continued in power, he would bring His Majesty's negotiations into irretrievable difficulties and make the King at last as unpopular in this country as himself. To which the King made no other answer than coolly asking him whether that was all he had to say, and then dismissed him. I relate this whole story just as it was told to me by Sir Robert Walpole himself.

But Sir Robert, notwithstanding this material instance of the strength of his interest in the closet, could not but be much alarmed to find that below stairs he had two such formidable enemies, and Lord Bolingbroke two such powerful advocates, as the Duchess and her niece. He consulted with Lord Townshend what was to be done; he found Lady Bolingbroke had constant access to the Duchess, knew she had credit there, and very reasonably, of course, feared that what had made no impression at first might, by repeated applications, come to have its effect at last. His jealousies and suspicions increased so much that, just before the last time the King set out for Hanover, he told the King what he apprehended from the Duchess's favour to Lord Bolingbroke and interest with His Majesty. And as it had been very sanguinely insinuated by Lord Bolingbroke to his friends, and buzzed about in whispers even at Court, that His Majesty was at last prevailed upon to discard him, and that the stroke already resolved upon was to be struck when he was at Hanover, he begged only to know from His Majesty what foundation there was for such suggestions; and if he was come to

any resolution of that sort, that he would be so kind as to execute it before his departure. The King assured him he had no such intentions, and went so far as to say he took it ill of Sir Robert that he could believe him so weak as to be wrought upon by any persuasion or interest whatever to change a servant he loved and valued for a knave whose conduct, character, and principles he had always abhorred. Thus stood Sir Robert Walpole's credit and Lord Bolingbroke's hopes at Court when the late King went last over.

As to Lord Bolingbroke's general character, it was so mixed that he had certainly some qualifications that the greatest men might be proud of, and many which the worst would be ashamed of. He had fine talents, a natural eloquence, great quickness, a happy memory, and very extensive knowledge: but he was vain much beyond the general run of mankind, timid, false, injudicious, and ungrateful; elate and insolent in power, dejected and servile in disgrace. Few people ever believed him without being deceived, or trusted him without being betrayed. He was one to whom prosperity was no advantage, and adversity no instruction. He had brought his affairs to that pass that he was almost as much distressed in his private fortune as desperate in his political views, and was upon such a foot in the world that no king would employ him, no party support him, and few particulars defend him. His enmity was the contempt of those he attacked, and his friendship a weight and reproach to those he adhered to. Those who were most partial to him could not but allow that he was ambitious without fortitude, and enterprising without resolution; that he was fawning without insinuation, and insincere without art; that he had admirers without friendship, and followers without attachment; parts without probity, knowledge without conduct, and experience without judgment. This was certainly his character and situation; but since it is the opinion of the wise, the speculative, and the learned, that most men are born with the same propensities, actuated by the same passions, and conducted by

the same original principles, and differing only in the manner of pursuing the same ends, I shall not so far chime in with the bulk of Lord Bolingbroke's contemporaries as to pronounce he had more failings than any man ever had; but it is impossible to see all that is written, and hear all that is said of him, and not allow that if he had not a worse heart than the rest of mankind, at least he must have had much worse luck.

It will not be necessary to say much on the character of Sir Robert Walpole; the following work will demonstrate his abilities in business and his dexterity in Courts and Parliaments to have been much superior to his contemporaries. He had a strength of parts equal to any advancement, a spirit to struggle with any difficulties, a steadiness of temper immovable by any disappointments. He had great skill in figures, the nature of the funds, and the revenue; his first application was to this branch of knowledge; but as he afterwards rose to the highest posts of power, and continued longer there than any first minister in this country since Lord Burleigh ever did, he grew, of course, conversant with all the other parts of government, and very soon equally able in transacting them. The weight of the whole administration lay on him; every project was of his forming, conducting, and executing. From the time of making the Treaty of Hanover all the foreign as well as domestic affairs passed through his hands; and, considering the little assistance he received from subalterns, it is incredible what a variety and quantity of business he dispatched. But as he had infinite application and long experience, so he had great method and a prodigious memory, with a mind and spirit that were indefatigable; and without every one of these natural as well as acquired advantages, it would indeed have been impossible for him to go through half what he undertook.

No man ever was blessed with a clearer head, a truer or quicker judgment, or a deeper insight into mankind; he knew the strength and weakness of everybody he had to

deal with, and how to make his advantage of both. He had more warmth of affection and friendship for some particular people than one could have believed it possible for any one who had been so long raking in the dirt of mankind to be capable of feeling for so worthless a species of animals. One should naturally have imagined that the contempt and distrust he must have had for the species in gross, would have given him at least an indifference and distrust towards every particular.¹ Whether his negligence of his enemies, and never stretching his power to gratify his resentment of the sharpest injury, was policy or constitution, I shall not determine; but I do not believe anybody who knows these times will deny that no minister ever was more outraged, or less apparently revengeful. Some of his friends, who were not unforgiving themselves, nor very apt to see imaginary faults in him, have condemned this easiness in his temper as a weakness that has often exposed him to new injuries, and given encouragement to his adversaries to insult him with impunity. Brigadier Churchill, a worthy and good-natured, friendly and honourable man, who had lived Sir Robert's intimate friend for many years, and through all the different stages of his power and retirement, prosperity and disgrace, has often said that Sir Robert Walpole was so little able to resist the show of repentance in those from whom he had received the worst usage that a few tears and promises of amendment have often washed out the stains even of ingratitude.

In all occurrences, and at all times, and in all difficulties, he was constantly present and cheerful. He had very little of what is generally called insinuation, and with which people are apt to be taken for the present, without being gained; but no man ever knew better among those he had to deal with who was to be had, on what terms, by what methods, and how the acquisition would answer. He was

¹Walpole once said to Henry Pelham: "When you have the same experience of mankind as myself you will go near to hate the human species" (Add. MSS. 32955 f. 94).

not one of those projecting systematical great geniuses who are always thinking in theory, and are above common practice. He had been too long conversant in business not to know that in the fluctuation of human affairs and variety of accidents to which the best concerted schemes are liable, they must often be disappointed who build on the certainty of the most probable events, and therefore seldom turned his thoughts to the provisional warding off future evils which might or might not happen, or the scheming of remote advantages, subject to so many intervening crosses, but always applied himself to the present occurrence, studying and generally hitting upon the properest method to improve what was favourable, and the best expedient to extricate himself out of what was difficult. There never was any minister to whom access was so easy and so frequent, nor whose answers were more explicit. He knew how to oblige when he bestowed, and not to shock when he denied; to govern without oppressing, and conquer without triumph. He pursued his ambition without curbing his pleasures, and his pleasures without neglecting his business; he did the latter with ease, and indulged himself in the other without giving scandal or offence. In private life, and to all who had any dependence upon him, he was kind and indulgent; he was generous without ostentation, and an economist without penuriousness; not insolent in success, nor irresolute in distress; faithful to his friends, and not inveterate to his foes.

Sir William Wyndham, who was at the head of those who called themselves Hanover Tories at the death of the late King, was first brought into the political world by Lord Bolingbroke in the latter end of Queen Anne's reign, and of course began the world, if not an avowed Jacobite, at least a Jacobite very little disguised. He was a man of family, fortune, and figure, but pushed up to the employment of Chancellor of the Exchequer, by the favour of Lord Bolingbroke, at a time when neither his years, his experience, his talents, his knowledge, nor his

weight could give him any pretence to the distinction of so great a post. But though the éclat of this advancement might flatter his ambition at first, yet the gratitude which he showed to his benefactor by linking his fortune with his became a clog to that ambition ever after, and made the friendship that first raised him above his desert keep him afterwards down as much below it. In the beginning of the late reign nobody doubted his being one of the chief promoters of that disaffection and those commotions in the West which ended in an open rebellion. His conduct at that time is not to be justified. To raise a spirit of Jacobitism and sedition in a parcel of unhappy wretches who were led by his judgment and trusted to his protection, and to leave them at that very crisis when the spirit he had fomented brought them to action, was a conduct for which his best friends must think his timidity the best excuse. However, his not appearing now in open rebellion did not prevent the Government, as they were informed of his previous clandestine steps, from sending a messenger to apprehend him. He was seized at his own house, Witham, in Somersetshire, but made his escape out of the messenger's hands upon having leave given him to bid his wife adieu in the next room, and giving his honour to Colonel Hurst, as the messenger affirms and he denies, to return immediately and surrender himself into custody. He fled in a clergyman's habit; but, at the instigation of his father-in-law, the Duke of Somerset, in a little time surrendered himself to the Government, was kept prisoner some months in the Tower, then admitted to bail, but never brought to a trial. Just before Lord Bolingbroke returned from France it was thought he was capitulating with the administration: but his attachment to his old friend and patron, the influence that friend had over him, and the irreconcilable enmity Lord Bolingbroke bore to Sir Robert Walpole, utterly put an end to those dealings, if ever there were such on foot. His behaviour at the time of the rebellion, and his taking all opportunities afterwards to declare himself a

strong Hanoverian, made the Jacobites not love him, though they did not care to separate from him.

He was far from having first-rate parts, but by a gentleman-like general behaviour and constant attendance in the House of Commons, a close application to the business of it, and frequent speaking, he had got a sort of parliamentary routine, and without being a bright speaker was a popular one, well heard, and useful to his party. Lord Bolingbroke's closet was the school to which he owed all his knowledge of foreign affairs, and where he made himself master of many facts that got him attention and gave him reputation in Parliament, though they were not introduced with that art, expressed with that energy, nor set off with that eloquence that would have attended them could his schoolmaster have delivered them there without a proxy.

When Mr. Pulteney and Sir William Wyndham were at the head of the opposition to the Court, Sir William's antagonists contributed much more than his friends to the advancement of his reputation; for as there was a secret rivalry and jealousy between these two Consuls of the Patriots (for so they were pleased to christen their faction) and that pique Sir Robert Walpole had to Mr. Pulteney was infinitely greater than any enmity he bore to the other, so all Sir Robert Walpole's people, to flatter him and mortify Mr. Pulteney, took every opportunity to compliment Sir William Wyndham in public assemblies, and give him the preference to his colleague whenever they were compared in private companies; though it was impossible for any impartial body to think that Mr. Pulteney was not as much Sir William Wyndham's superior in parts, knowledge, eloquence, and every other qualification but temper requisite to make a formidable enemy or a useful friend, as he was in fortune, in writing, and even in reputation. Notwithstanding the partiality of their own party and the affectation of the other exerted itself so evidently to brighten the character of the one and obscure

the fame of the other, the public was on this occasion, as on most others, much juster than any of the particulars that compose it, and decided so much in favour of Mr. Pulteney, that as his name at home was mentioned in conversation, in print, at Court, and by the populace twenty times for once that the other was ever thought of, so in foreign courts it was as familiarly known as in that of England itself, where the other was never heard of.

This was the state of party and faction in England and these their leaders, at the time of the accession of King George II. to the crown.

The late King died on the road to Hanover, on the 11th of June, 1727, at Osnaburg, in the very same room where he was born. On Wednesday, June 14, news was brought by an express to Sir Robert Walpole, who was at dinner at Chelsea when it arrived. He went immediately to Richmond (where the Prince of Wales then was) to acquaint him with what had happened and receive his orders. The Prince was laid to sleep (as his custom had been for many years after dinner), and the Princess was in the bedchamber with him, when the Duchess of Dorset, the lady-in-waiting, went in to let them know Sir Robert Walpole was there, who was immediately brought in. All he said was, "I am come to acquaint Your Majesty with the death of your father." The King seemed extremely surprised, but not enough to forget his resentment to Sir Robert one moment; neither his confusion, nor his joy at this great change, nor the benevolence so naturally felt by almost everybody towards the messenger of such good news, softened his voice or his countenance in one word or look. Whatever questions Sir Robert asked him with regard to the council being summoned, his being proclaimed, or other things necessary immediately to be provided, the King gave him no other answer than "Go to Chiswick and take your directions from Sir Spencer Compton."

This interview therefore was very short. Sir Robert went ¹⁷²⁷ as commanded to Chiswick, and the King and Queen immediately to London.

As Sir Robert Walpole had not the least hope of making his peace so far as to be employed in the new reign, he did not endeavour to disguise to Sir Spencer Compton any one circumstance that had passed at Richmond, but naturally and openly told him:

"The King, Sir, has sent me to you in such a manner as declares he intends you for his minister, and has commanded me to receive all my instructions from your mouth. It is what I as well as the rest of the world expected would be whenever this accident happened. You have been the Prince's Treasurer ever since he came to England; it is a natural promotion to continue you upon his being King; your services entitle you to that mark of his favour, and your abilities and experience in business will both enable you to support the employment and justify him in bestowing it. Everything is in your hands; I neither could shake your power if I would, nor would I if I could. My time has been, yours is beginning; but as we all must depend in some degree upon our successors, and that it is always prudent for these successors by way of example to have some regard for their predecessors, that with the measure they mete it may be measured to them again, for this reason I put myself under your protection, and for this reason I expect you will give it. I desire no share of power or business; one of your white sticks, or any employment of that sort, is all I ask as a mark from the crown that I am not abandoned to the enmity of those whose envy is the only source of their hate, and who consequently will wish you no better than they have done me the moment you are vested with those honours and that authority, the possession of which they will always covet, and the possessor of which, of course, they will always hate."

Sir Spencer Compton was at this time Speaker of the House of Commons, Treasurer to the Prince, and Pay-

1727 master to the army. He was a plodding, heavy fellow, with great application, but no talents, and vast complaisance for a Court without any address. He was always more concerned for the manner and form in which a thing was to be done than about the propriety or expediency of the thing itself; and as he was calculated to execute rather than to project, for a subaltern rather than a commander, so he was much fitter for a clerk to a minister than for a minister to a Prince. Whatever was resolved upon he would often know how properly to perform, but seldom how to advise what was proper to be resolved upon. His only pleasures were money and eating; his only knowledge forms and precedents; and his only insinuation bows and smiles.

But as he did not want pride or ambition, though he wanted parts to feed them, he was extremely pleased with this speech of Sir Robert Walpole's, and looking upon himself, dazzled with the lustre of so bright a prospect, as possessed already of all the favour and power of this new Court, he promised Sir Robert Walpole his protection; and asked in return the assistance of Sir Robert's experience to enlighten him on the present state of affairs, and to instruct him in the future conduct of them.

They went together forthwith to London, and first to the Duke of Devonshire's, who was then President of the Council, but laid up with the gout and not able to attend there. The Duke of Devonshire was a man who had no uncommon portion of understanding; and as his chief skill lay in painting, medals, and horses, he was more able as a virtuoso than a statesman, and a much better jockey than he was a politician. He had a fair character, the dignity of a man of quality, and was justly more considered than most people of the same rank and fortune (who, perhaps, had better abilities), from having been always steady to his party and constant to his friends.

There was nobody present at this meeting but these two knights, the master of the house, my Lord Chancellor King, Lord Trevor, keeper of the Privy Seal, and Sir

Paul Methuen, and all that was concerted there was the common forms that were to be observed in the meeting of the Council.

Whilst these things were regulating, Sir Spencer Compton took Sir Robert Walpole aside and desired him, as a speech would be necessary on the occasion to be made in council by the King, and as Sir Robert was so much more accustomed to this sort of compositions than himself, that he would be so good to go into another room and make forthwith a draught of what would be proper for the King to say, whilst he went to Leicester Fields to receive His Majesty's commands.

Sir Robert at first seemed to decline this office, but Sir Spencer Compton insisting upon it as a favour to him, Sir Robert Walpole, who was the last man in England he ought to have employed on this occasion, undertook at his request that which, if Sir Spencer Compton had had common sense or foresight, he would have known the better it was done the worse it would be for himself.

That which made this step yet more absurd was that if this precedent-monger had only turned to the old Gazettes published at the beginning of the former reigns he might have copied full as good a declaration from these records as any Sir Robert Walpole could give him.

Sir Robert, retiring into a room by himself, went immediately to work, and Sir Spencer to Leicester Fields, where the King and Queen were already arrived and receiving the compliments of every man of all degrees and all parties in the town. The square was thronged with multitudes of the meaner sort and resounded with huzzas and acclamations, whilst every room in the house was filled with people of higher rank, crowding to kiss their hands and to make the earliest and warmest professions of zeal for their service. But the common face of a Court at this time was quite reversed, for as there was not a creature in office, excepting those who were his servants as Prince, who had not the most sorrowful and dejected countenance

1727 of distress and disappointment, so there was not one out of employment who did not already exult with all the insolence of the most absolute power and settled prosperity.

As soon as Sir Spencer Compton had been with the King in his closet, he returned to his coach through a lane of bowers in the ante-chambers and on the stairs, who were all shouldering one another to pay adoration to this new idol, and knocking their heads together to whisper compliments and petitions as he passed.

At his return to Devonshire House he found the declaration for the King already drawn. He approved it, desired Sir Robert's leave to copy it, and begged that he would not, even to the people in the next room, say anything of his having done it. It was first read to the company at Devonshire House, approved of there without any objections, and then carried by Sir Spencer Compton, in his own handwriting, to the King. Sir Robert followed to Leicester Fields, where he found Sir Spencer Compton a good deal embarrassed by the King's desiring him to alter one passage in the declaration, which Sir Spencer wished should stand, and which if he had not he did not know how to go about to change. He desired Sir Robert to go into the King and persuade him to leave it as it was originally drawn, which office Sir Robert readily accepted, and was thanked by Sir Spencer for the success he ought to have apprehended.

The council met, and the King's declaration there was as follows:

“At the Court at Leicester House,
“14th June, 1727.

“The sudden and unexpected death of the King, my dearest father, has filled my heart with so much concern and surprise that I am at a loss how to express myself upon this great and melancholy occasion.

“I am sensible of the weight that immediately falls upon me by taking the government of a nation so powerful at home and of such influence and consequence abroad, but my love and affection to this

country, from my knowledge and experience of you, makes me ¹⁷²⁷ resolve cheerfully to undergo all difficulties for the sake and good of my people.

“The religion, laws, and liberties of the kingdom are most dear to me, and the preservation of the constitution in Church and State as it is now happily established, shall be my first and always my chief care.

“And as the alliances entered into by the late King, my father, with foreign powers have contributed to the restoring the tranquillity and preserving the balance of Europe, I shall endeavour to cultivate those alliances, and to improve and perfect this great work for the honour, interest, and security of my people.”

As soon as this was over, the Archbishop of Canterbury delivered to the King that copy of his father's will which had been deposited in his hands. His directions from the late King were to deliver it in council, and the meaning of those directions certainly was to prevent its being suppressed and to secure its being read there. However, the new King took it and put it unopened into his pocket without taking any further notice of it. This conduct was by everybody condemned and certainly in no wise to be justified, since the giving such an impression of his honesty to his people at his first setting out was no more the proof of a good head than of a good heart, and as little to be justified by the rules of policy as by the laws of conscience; for, if royalty does not sanctify every action of every prince, what can be urged to soften or extenuate that misde-meanour in a King which, if any man of an inferior rank had been guilty of, he had been hunted not only through every Court of Justice, but out of every company in the kingdom? And though the eminence of a King's station prevented this action from being brought to a trial in Westminster Hall and condemned by public sentence, yet the private court of equity in the breast of every one of his subjects and from which there is no appeal did not fail to canvass these wrongs which they wanted power to redress, and censure that injustice with which they did not dare to reproach him and which they knew not how to punish.

1727 The late King had left three copies of this will; one in the hands of the Archbishop, disposed of as just now related, another with the Duchess of Kendal, who was afraid to produce it, and the third with the Duke of Wolfenbuttel, who was bribed to deliver it up with £100,000 in the form of a subsidy of £25,000 a year for four years for troops never used, never called for, and it was thought never raised.¹

It was so late before the Council was over that the King was not proclaimed till the next day, when that ceremony was performed with all the usual pomp, incense and acclamations that ignorance and interestedness generally pay to novelty and power. At the same time all the members of Parliament in town went down to the House to take the oaths to the new King, and the Parliament by an order signed by King George the 2nd and communicated by my Lord Chancellor was prorogued to the 27th.

The King stayed in town till the Monday following. During those four days Leicester House, that used to be a desert, was thronged from morning to night, like the 'Change at noon. Nobody but Sir Robert Walpole walked through these rooms as if they had been still empty. His presence, that used to make a crowd wherever he appeared, now emptied every corner he turned to, and the same people who were officially a week ago clearing the way to flatter his prosperity, were now getting out of it to avoid sharing his disgrace. Everybody looked upon it as sure, and whatever professions of adherence and gratitude for former favours were made him in private, there were none among the many his power had obliged (excepting General Churchill and Lord Hervey) who did not in public as notoriously decline and fear his notice as they used industriously to seek and covet it. These two men constantly attended him, and never paid so much as the compliment of a visit to Sir Spencer Compton, who had already opened a levée and received the solicitations of the whole world as

¹For the explanation of this affair see the Introduction.

the only channel to the King's ear. Among these herds was 1727 Mr. Dodington, one of the lords of the Treasury, whose early application and distinguished assiduity at this juncture to the supposed successor of his former patron and benefactor was never forgiven.

Sir Robert Walpole, his brother, Mr. Horace Walpole, ambassador to France, the Duke of Newcastle, and Lord Townshend, the two Secretaries of State, who were, properly speaking, the whole old administration at the death of the late King, expected themselves and were expected by the whole world hourly to be displaced.

The first of these the present King had, in the latter years of his father's reign, called rogue and rascal without much reserve, to several people, upon several occasions; to Horace Walpole he had as liberally and as publicly dispensed the appellations of scoundrel and fool; and for the Duke of Newcastle, the King, when Prince, had been so personally disengaged by him that he had sworn a thousand times he never would forgive him; and, joined to this resentment of the particular injuries he thought he had received from him, he had as to his public character, his parliamentary abilities and knowledge in business, the same just contempt which most other people had contracted for his Grace, either by their own observation or the deference they paid to the opinion of the public. For Lord Townshend, the King looked upon him as no more an honest man than as an able minister, and attributed to the warmth of his temper and his scanty genius, the strength of his passions and weakness of his understanding, all the present intricacy, uncertainty, and confusion in the affairs of Europe.

The whole world knowing this to be His Majesty's opinion of these four governors of this kingdom; that, as I have just related, he used always to speak of the first as a great rogue, of the second as a dirty buffoon, of the third as an impudent fool, and of the fourth as a choleric blockhead; it was very natural to expect the reins of power

1727 would not long be left in their hands. And when Lord Malpas, son-in-law to Sir Robert Walpole, was turned out of the Mastership of the Robes, and not in the softest manner, the day after the King came to the crown, it was concluded he led a dance which the rest were soon to follow.

If it had not been for the stupidity of Sir Spencer Compton, who did not know his own strength, or what use to make of it, they had all, but certainly at least Sir Robert Walpole, been displaced the very day after the King came to the crown. But as this awkward statesman was either blind to his own interest or ignorant of his own power, he suffered that opportunity to slip through his hands, which if he had had skill to improve, or resolution to seize, he might indisputably have been what he was equally ambitious of and unfit for.

But as the King was not pressed to the taking of this step, and that his Civil List (which was at present the chief object in his view) was in less than a fortnight to be settled in Parliament, he very naturally deferred any change in the administration till that great and favourite point was determined; and that it might be adjusted to his satisfaction with the unanimous concurrence of all parties, he very prudently chose not to make the one desperate, though he gave the others hopes, and kept the interest of every other body in suspense, that his own might be pursued without opposition; though perhaps, like many other refining historians, I attribute that to prudence which was only owing to accident, two things often mistaken one for the other. But whether it was the effect of policy or the natural consequence of the present juncture of the affairs, whatever was the cause of his conduct, this was certainly the effect—that his postponing thus the gratification of his resentment facilitated the success of his own affairs in Parliament, gave him time to cool, the Queen time to think, and Sir Robert time to work.

One other very material reason which might induce the King to suspend the change of his ministry I must not

omit here to relate. Mr. Walpole, who (as I before ¹⁷²⁷ observed) was ambassador in France at the demise of the late King, immediately upon his receiving the news of the King's death went to Versailles to the Cardinal de Fleury, then first minister, and got him to write a letter to our new King,¹ full of assurances of the inviolable fidelity with which he was determined to adhere to all treaties and engagements entered into with his father, provided the King on his part was inclined to act on the same plan and to pursue the same measures his father had done; and as the interest both of France and England at this important critical juncture depended on the harmony and good understanding which he wished to preserve between the two kingdoms, he hoped His Majesty would not give the other powers of Europe such an advantage over them as to weaken that union which might give laws to the rest of the world whilst it subsisted, but must expose the two kingdoms to receive laws from others whenever it was broken.

With this letter Mr. Walpole arrived in England the ^{June 18} Sunday after the news came of the King's death; and though his coming was not the only thing that turned the scale in favour of the old ministry, yet it certainly threw in a considerable weight whilst it was in balance.

On the 19th the Court removed to Kensington, where the King, by the audiences that were asked and the offers that were made to him by the great men of all denominations, found himself set up at auction and every one bidding for his favour at the expense of the public.

The greatest offer, and the most infamous for the bidder, was made by that affected patriot Mr. Pulteney, who proposed to the King the same £800,000 per year for his Civil List which was afterwards given, with the additional advantage, which was not given, of taking off that tax of sixpence in the pound on all Civil List salaries and

¹The letter was to Horace Walpole himself (Coxe, *Lord Walpole*, i. 272).

1727 pensions, and charging the Sinking Fund, in lieu of the Civil List establishment, with that £30,000 a year.¹

The saddling the Sinking Fund with this tax would certainly have been detrimental to the nation, as it must of course have protracted its debts by lessening the sum appropriated for the payment of them; nor was it very politicly calculated even for the purpose it was designed for. As it would only have increased a little the salaries of the King's servants without being any gain to the King himself, His Majesty, whose avarice he sought to tickle and allure by this proposal, was not likely to be much obliged by it.

And now the great stroke of displacing Sir Robert Walpole being so long suspended, his enemies began to fear, and his friends to hope, that this protracted reprieve might at last turn into an absolute pardon. Whilst it hung in this equilibrium Sir Robert Walpole received the following letter from an unknown hand:

"I am one of the many you have obliged, and one of the few that will never forget it. My gratitude for these obligations, and the desire I have to do you service, is the sole occasion of this letter; nor have I so mean an opinion of your understanding, or so good a one of my own, as to imagine that, at this very important crisis, you can want my advice how to act. But though you are too skilful to want counsel, yet the most skilful may want intelligence; and there are certainly schemes on foot to impose upon you. The new King's sole thought and care at present is the establishment of his Civil List, which he is advised (and perhaps by your chief antagonist) to commit to your care. He is told that your apprehensions are such that at this juncture you dare refuse him nothing; that some hopes thrown in, and a show of favour, will bind you still faster to his interest; in short, the Queen speaks to you through his mouth. But this point once settled, you are to be dropped; neither would you be allowed this share in the administration but that, in case their demands should be thought exorbitant, you may incur all the odium with the people, though you are to be deprived of all the merit towards the King.

¹Here seems some mistake: 6d. in the pound on *the whole* Civil List would have been but £20,000 a year; and as it was payable only on salaries, pensions, etc., it would have been proportionably less. (Croker.)

Others are to have the advantage of disposing of this money, though 1727 you are to undergo all the unpopular difficulty of providing it. You are to plough the field, and others are to reap and distribute the harvest. It is already given out that you are bidding with the public money to buy your peace with the King. In a word, Lord Sunderland's policy in 1720 is revived, may it have the same fate, and end as much to your advantage as it is designed for your ruin.¹ I have no notion but where you have access you must have credit, and that your being esteemed must always be the consequence of your being heard. The things I have here told you, came to my knowledge merely by accident and the babbling indiscretion of a fool who wishes you ill. Your enemies undoubtedly take this to be your present situation at court; whether well founded in their opinion or not, I know not. All happiness, success, and prosperity attend you. If this letter proves of any use to you, I shall be glad; if it is of none, I shall not be ashamed, because you will never know from whence it comes. And I am sure I mean it well."

This letter Sir Robert Walpole afterwards found out had been written by Lord Hervey. Sir Robert erased that passage where it said "The Queen speaks to you through the King's mouth," and then showed the letter to the Queen, to let her know what his friends thought and the world said of his present situation. The Queen assured him she believed no man so capable of serving the King as himself; that her interest, if she had any, should never be employed for any other body; that she was sure the King's intentions were to continue him; and that she thought the term of "policy" given in that letter to the scheme suggested to be at present the foundation of the King's seeming favour to Sir Robert Walpole, would be much too soft a word for so much deceit and treachery. When the King desired Sir Robert Walpole to fix the Civil List revenue in the way I shall presently relate, he took him by the hand, and among many other things that

¹After the South Sea smash Lord Sunderland resigned the Treasury to Walpole and took the office of Groom of the Stole, retaining a strong party in the Cabinet and the ear of the King, and proposing to return to power as soon as Walpole had liquidated the financial and parliamentary situation. His death in 1722 left Walpole master of the field.

1727 he said, intimating his designs to continue him in his service, he made use of this very strong expression: "Consider, Sir Robert, what makes me easy in this matter will prove for your ease too; it is for my life it is to be fixed, and it is for your life."

On the 27th June the Parliament met, when the Civil List, unopposed by anybody but Mr. Shippen, the head of the veteran stanch Jacobites, was settled in the following manner. The produce of those funds that had been tied down for the provision of £700,000 a year on the late King, and £100,000 more on the Prince of Wales, was now given entirely to the present King, without a deduction of £100,000 to the present Prince of Wales, but leaving the provision for him to the discretion and generosity of his father, and without giving the overplus of £800,000 to the Sinking Fund, which was the use to which the surplus of these funds in the late reign was appropriated after the £700,000 was paid; so that this King had the whole produce of these, which was then computed at an average to amount to £900,000 a year; and if that computation had proved true, the Civil List of this King would have been, by £200,000 a year, a greater revenue than any King of England was ever known to have before. The ridiculous reason given for this exorbitant augmentation of it was the expense of a wife and a great many children—as if no King of England before had ever been married, or to a pregnant wife. And the other sensible argument was things being so much dearer than they used to be and consequently housekeeping so much more expensive—good excuses for a farmer's backwardness in paying his rent, but not things that could be much felt in the manner of living of a king. But unreasonable as it was thought to settle the Civil List in this extravagant manner, yet the bill passed the House of Commons without one negative but Mr. Shippen's. No one thought it reasonable, yet no one opposed it; no one wished for it, and no one voted against it; and I believe it is the single instance that can be given,

of a question carried there, without two opponents or ~~1722~~ well-wishers.

At the same time the Queen's jointure was settled; for the provision of which, in this fit of generosity, these frugal dispensers of the people's money were pleased to bestow upon her, besides Somerset House and Richmond Lodge, £100,000 a year, which was just double what any Queen of England had ever had before. To such a pitch of extravagance did these contending parliamentary bidders raise the price of Court favour at this royal auction.

When these two great and laudable works were perfected the old Parliament was to be dissolved and a new one chosen. It was at their dismission that the decisive ^{July 17} stroke was struck in the contention for power between Sir Robert Walpole and Sir Spencer Compton. The King had ordered them both to make him a speech, and when he came to choose shook his head at poor Sir Spencer's and approved of Sir Robert's.

The only two things that were done, during this short interregnum of Sir Robert Walpole's, contrary to his inclination, were, first, the displacing of his son-in-law, Lord Malpas, which I have already mentioned; and, secondly, the turning a Sir William Yonge, a known creature of his, out of the commission of Treasury.

The King used always to call him "Stinking Yonge," and had conceived and expressed such an insurmountable dislike to his person and character that no interest nor influence was potent enough at this time to prevail with His Majesty to continue him.

Sir William Yonge was certainly a very remarkable instance how much character and reputation depend sometimes on unaccountable accident and the caprice of mankind; and an undeniable exception to what I think (some few cases excepted) a pretty general rule—that is, that however prejudiced some particulars may be for, and others against, such men in public stations and characters, yet the true merit of such men commonly finds and settles

1727 its own weight, as much as any commodity in a market; and is generally rated according to its real value in public opinion, as much as the other in public sale.

I acknowledge Sir William Yonge an exception to this maxim; for, without having done anything that I know of remarkably profligate—anything out of the common track of a ductile courtier and a parliamentary tool—his name was proverbially used to express everything pitiful, corrupt, and contemptible. It is true he was a great liar, but rather a mean than a vicious one. He had been always constant to the same party, was good-natured and good-humoured, never offensive in company, nobody's friend, nobody's enemy. He had no wit in private conversation, but was remarkably quick in taking hints to harangue upon in Parliament. He had a knack of words there that was surprising, considering how little use they were to him anywhere else. He had a great command of what is called parliamentary language and a talent of talking eloquently without a meaning and expatiating agreeably upon nothing beyond any man, I believe, that ever had the gift of speech.

These advantages made him very useful to Sir Robert Walpole, who caressed him without loving him, and employed him without trusting him; but the éclat even of this great minister's favour could neither whiten Sir William Yonge's character nor keep him in employment. The one was, in my opinion, unreasonably run down, and the other unreasonably taken from him; for he had done nothing at all to deserve to forfeit the latter, and nothing more to deserve to lose the first than what a thousand other people had done without losing either. However, Sir Robert advised him, upon this disgrace, to be patient, not clamorous, to submit, not resent or oppose, to be as subservient to the Court in attendance and give the King his assistance as constantly and as assiduously in Parliament as if he was paid for it; telling him and all the world what afterwards proved true, that whatever people might

imagine, Yonge was not sunk, he had only dived, and 1727 would yet get up again.

This was the single alteration made after the dissolution of the Parliament contrary to the will and representation of Sir Robert Walpole; and though this was a proof that he was forced to bend in one instance, yet every other change demonstrated his influence.

His son-in-law, Lord Malpas, was put into the Admiralty; his great rival and enemy, Mr. Pulteney, denied leave to stand candidate upon the interest of the Court for Westminster, never consulted in the closet, and always very coldly received in the Drawing-room; a whole race of Chetwynds, Sir Robert Walpole's declared ill-wishers, were turned out in a lump; and, what was reckoned the strongest demonstration of his power, Lord Berkeley removed from the head of the Admiralty, and Lord Torrington appointed to succeed him. Lord Berkeley was the admiral who brought the late King over, born and educated a stanch Whig, and had never deviated a moment one step of his life from these principles. He had been of the late King's bedchamber, and at the head of the fleet during all the late reign. He was a man of great family and great quality, rough, proud, hard, and obstinate, with excellent good natural parts, but so uncultivated that he was totally ignorant of every branch of knowledge but his profession. He was haughty and tyrannical, but honourable; gallant, observant of his word, but equally incapable of flattering a prince, bending to a minister, or lying to anybody he had to deal with. Lord Torrington was more supple and more tractable. He had received the honour of peerage in the late reign as a reward for an action, for which he ought to have lost his head, which was his attacking, without orders countersigned by a Secretary of State, the Spanish fleet in the Mediterranean, in favour of the Emperor, of whom our King wanted to buy, with Sicily, the investiture of Bremen and Verden; which, by the by, he was never able to obtain. Voltaire, in his

1727 *History of Charles XII. of Sweden*, says, "Le Roi George n'avoit aucun but en toutes ses actions que la possession de ces deux places, sur lesquelles il n'avoit aucun droit que de les avoir achetées à vil prix aux Danois, à qui elles n'appartenaient pas."

Lord Torrington, who knew the late King's mind, and never had "aucun but pour aucune action" but the making his court and his fortune, undertook this affair in the Mediterranean upon very unsafe and unwarrantable clandestine orders, transmitted to him from the late King, through the hands of Bernstorff, his German minister. Lord Torrington succeeded, beat the Spaniards, put the Emperor in possession of Sicily, got vast sums of money, cheated the sailors, and returned home, thanked, caressed, and rewarded, instead of being censured, broke, or hanged; which, indisputably, he ought to have been, for risking an English fleet without a legal English authority.¹

This was the man appointed to succeed Lord Berkeley. He had been in his youth a resolute, able, enterprising fellow; mercenary and knowing in his business; but now so declining in a very advanced age that the edge of all these qualities, except his avarice, was pretty well blunted. He was now nothing more than an inferior man, weakened both in body and mind, neither able to execute or project any great things, and fit only to direct in the common routine of the sea affairs, which long experience in that business made him as capable of as any other man in the fleet. And as there had always been a jealousy, and no very cordial friendship, between him and Lord Berkeley, I believe Lord Torrington was pitched upon for this post not so much from desiring to show him favour as to embitter Lord Berkeley's disgrace. The little friendship

¹It is quite possible, though not proved, that Byng's action in attacking the Spanish fleet before he received express authority from his Government was due to oral instructions from the King through Bernstorff, who, six months later, used language which suggests that something of the sort had occurred (Michael, ii. 476).

Lord Berkeley had ever professed to Sir Robert Walpole, 1727 and the little complaisance he had ever shown him, were certainly very natural reasons for Sir Robert to dislike, and to desire to remove him; and Lord Berkeley's great intimacy with and attachment to Lord Bolingbroke were the means he put into Sir Robert's hands to overturn his interest with the King, who mortally hated Lord Bolingbroke and everybody that had to do with him.

However, this incident, as well as every other material occurrence at this time, proved to all mankind that the little transient interruption that diverted the stream of Sir Robert's power was now borne down and that the current was brought back again and flowed quietly in its former channel. It was now understood by everybody that Sir Robert was the Queen's minister; that whoever he favoured, she distinguished; and whoever she distinguished the King employed. His reputed mistress, Mrs. Howard, and the Speaker his reputed minister, were perceived to be nothing, and Mr. Pulteney and Lord Bolingbroke, in the algebraical phrase, less than nothing; that is, it appeared very plain that His Majesty had no political regard for the first, no opinion of the capacity of the second, a dislike for the conduct of the third, and an abhorrence for the character of the last.

But as Sir Spencer Compton had conceived too strong hopes of being Sir Robert's superior ever to serve in the House of Commons quietly under him, and that it might be dangerous, consequently, to suffer him in the chair of a new Parliament, Sir Robert advised the making him a peer. Accordingly he was created Baron of Wilmington; and on this occasion, I think, he might have said, like Agrippina, the mother of Nero, in Racine's *Britannicus*,

"Tous ces présens, hélas! irritent mon dépit,
Je vois mes honneurs croître, et tomber mon crédit."

It was just his case. But he did not seem to feel the ridicule or the contemptibleness of his situation. That snowball

1727 levee of his, which had opened and that gathered so fast, melted away at as quick a pace; his visionary prospects of authority and grandeur vanished into air; and yet he seemed just as well satisfied to be bowing and grinning in the antechamber, possessed of a lucrative employment without credit, and dishonoured by a title which was the mark of his disgrace, as if he had been dictating in the closet, sole fountain of Court favour at home, and regulator of all the national transactions abroad.

Mrs. Howard (afterwards Countess of Suffolk) felt her situation in a very different manner; and though she was too wise and too prudent to have given herself the air of a favourite without feeling she was so, or to have affected the appearance of power without knowing whether she should be able to maintain it, yet, without doubt, she had tried her strength in private, and was mortified to find she had tried it to so little purpose, well knowing that some degree of contempt would attend the not having what in her situation the world would expect her to have, though she had never pretended to be possessed of it, and that a mistress who could not get power was not a much more agreeable or respectable character than a minister who could not keep it.

Mrs. Howard was of a good family, but of so numerous a one, that her fortune originally was a very small one. She was sister to Lord Hobart, and had been married very young to Mr. Howard, a wrong-headed, ill-tempered, obstinate, drunken, extravagant, brutal younger brother of the Earl of Suffolk's family. This ill-matched, unfortunate couple were in a few years reduced to such low circumstances that they could not remain in England, and went, almost in despair, to make their court and seek their fortune, in Queen Anne's time, at Hanover. Mrs. Howard was there taken into the present Queen's service, and laid the foundation of that interest (such as it is) which she is now possessed of. Though the present King was never then said to think of her as a mistress, and when, immediately

upon his first coming over, he attached himself to Mrs. ¹⁷²⁷ Bellenden, a maid of honour to the Princess, Mrs. Howard was always third of that party, and upon a very different foot from that on which her correspondence with the King is now thought to stand. Mrs. Bellenden, who was afterwards married to Colonel Campbell, was incontestably the most agreeable, the most insinuating, and the most likeable woman of her time, made up of every ingredient likely to engage or attach a lover. But as she had to do with a man incapable of being engaged by any charm but habit, or attached to any woman but his wife—a man who was better pleased with the air of an intrigue than any other part of it and who did not care to pay a valuable consideration even for that—she began to find out that her situation was only having the scandal of being the Prince's mistress without the pleasure, and the confinement without the profit. She, therefore, very wisely, resolved to withdraw her own neck as well as she could, little by little, out of his unpleasant yoke. By this conduct she left Mrs. Howard, who had more steadiness and more perseverance, to try what she could make of a game which the other had found so tedious and so unprofitable that she had no pleasure in playing it and saw little to be won by minding it.

The Prince passed, every evening of his life, three or four hours in Mrs. Howard's lodging, who, as dresser to the Princess, always in waiting, was lodged all the year round in the Court. Mrs. Bellenden continued to be now and then of these parties, till she married, but after that time these visits became uninterrupted tête-à-têtes with Mrs. Howard, that subsist to this hour; and yet I know many of those who are most conversant and best acquainted with the intrigues, anecdotes, and transactions of this Court, who doubt, notwithstanding these appearances, the King's ever having entered into any commerce with her, that he might not innocently have had with his daughter. It is certain that nobody belonging to the Court ever

1727 believed he had been happy with Mrs. Bellenden; and though all appearances (the duration of them excepted) were exactly the same with regard to both these ladies, yet there are many people (which seems very unaccountable) who never suspected his lying with the one, and never doubted it with the other.

Mrs. Howard had the misfortune of hearing so ill that the quickness of her apprehension was in mixed companies of little use to her; for, unless the conversation was particularly addressed to her, and in a tone of voice much above the common pitch of speaking, she had no share in it; so that by this infirmity she was deprived not only of the pleasure but the advantage of the ordinary commerce of public and general acquaintance, and lost half the benefit of the many qualifications she possessed, so necessary to a thorough good companion, and so rarely united in one person. Good sense, good breeding, and good nature were qualities which even her enemies could not deny her; nor do I know any one good or agreeable quality which those who knew her more intimately would not as readily allow her. She was civil to everybody, friendly to many, and unjust to none: in short, she had a good head and a good heart, but had to do with a man who was incapable of tasting the one or valuing the other, one who seemed to look upon a mistress rather as a necessary appurtenance to his grandeur as a prince than an addition to his pleasures as a man, and thus only pretended to distinguish what it was evident he overlooked and affected to caress what it was manifest he did not love.

When the King came to the crown, Mrs. Howard was about forty years old,¹ an age not proper to make conquests, though perhaps the most likely to maintain them, as the levity of desiring new ones is by that time generally pretty well over, and the maturity of these qualities requisite to rivet old ones in their fullest perfection; for when the beauty that creates passion begins to decay,

¹She was forty-six; the King was forty-three.

women commonly look out for some preservative charms 2727 to substitute in its place; they begin to change their notion of their right to being adored, into that of thinking a little complaisance and some good qualities as necessary to attach men as a little beauty and some agreeable qualities are to allure them; and as experience teaches them that the insolence and negligence of security often loses what the humility and circumspection of diffidence helps them to preserve, so they begin to find out that a solicitude to oblige is as essential to a woman's being loved and esteemed, as a capacity of pleasing is to her being liked and admired. Mrs. Howard was so sensible of this truth, that her conduct tallied exactly with these sentiments; but notwithstanding her making use of the proper tools, the stuff she had to work with was so stubborn and so inductile that her labour was in vain, and her situation was such as would have been insupportable to anyone whose pride was less supple, whose passions less governable, and whose sufferance less inexhaustible. For she was forced to live in the constant subjection of a wife with all the reproach of a mistress and to flatter and manage a man whom she must see and feel had as little inclination to her person as regard to her advice; and added to this she had the mortification of knowing the Queen's influence so much superior to hers, that the little show of interest she maintained was only a permitted tenure dependent on a rival who could have overturned it any hour she pleased. But the Queen, knowing the vanity of her husband's temper, and that he must have some woman for the world to believe he lay with, wisely suffered one to remain in that situation whom she despised and had got the better of, for fear of making room for a successor whom he might really love, and that might get the better of her. On the other hand Mrs. Howard was in the right to continue there even on this foot, since she could not put herself on any better; for though she had not all the advantages which the sole mistress to a king might expect, yet it enabled her at least

1727 to gain that very material point of bettering her fortune; and the exchanging indigence and distress for affluence and prosperity was a consideration that no doubt often comforted her in the many mortifications, disappointments, and rebukes which her ambition met with when she endeavoured to join the éclat and power of a king's mistress to those less agreeable appurtenances of that character, the scandal and confinement of it.

However, these quotidian visits which His Majesty when Prince was known to bestow upon her, of so many hours in the four-and-twenty, and for so many years together, had made many superficial courtiers conclude that one who possessed so large a portion of his time must have some share in his heart. This way of reasoning induced many to make their court to her, and choose that channel to recommend themselves to the Prince. The most considerable of those who had done so were the Duke of Argyll, Lord Ilay his brother, the Duke of Dorset, and Lord Wilmington, who none of them could persuade themselves of such inconsistencies and absurdities in any man's character, as to imagine the Prince could give all his leisure hours to a pretty and agreeable woman who had no weight in his counsels and perhaps as small a portion of his person; nor was it more reasonable for them to imagine that any man would be so absolutely governed by his wife who took the liberty of seeming, at least, to keep her chamber-maid under her nose; or to believe that he would receive no impressions in private but from the opinion of a woman whom he took such frequent opportunities to snub, rebuke, and contradict, whenever she delivered it before any standers by.

Whilst the King was Prince there were so few occasions for the Queen to show her credit with him that some were apt to imagine this latent dormant power was much less than it proved itself when the time came that made it worth her while to try, show, and exert it. But as soon as ever the Prince became King the whole world began to

find out that her will was the sole spring on which every ¹⁷²⁷ movement in the Court turned; and though His Majesty lost no opportunity to declare that the Queen never meddled with his business, yet nobody was simple enough to believe it; and few besides himself would have been simple enough to hope or imagine it could be believed, since everybody who knew there was such a woman as the Queen, knew she not only meddled with business, but directed everything that came under that name, either at home or abroad. Her power was unrivalled and unbounded. How dearly she earned it will be the subject of future consideration in these papers.

At present, as everybody will be curious to learn what could induce the King to continue an administration whose every step he had disapproved, and heap favour on men whom he had so lately loaded with reproach, what motives he could have to lodge power in the hands of those whom he had heretofore so frequently and openly censured for the abuse of it; and how he as King came to consult those whom he never would speak to as Prince, and to admit no farther than the drawing-room at St. James's those favourites who had ever been of the cabinet at Leicester House; in short, how he came to pursue the very same measures in his own reign which he had been constantly censuring and exploding in his father's; since every one, I say, will be curious to learn what could give so unexpected a turn to His Majesty's way of thinking, talking, and acting, I shall relate all the different ways I heard of accounting for it at the time it happened. But whether any of the reasons given were the real ones, or whether all of them accumulated had some share in this event, I shall not pretend to determine.

For my own part, I have the conduct of princes in so little veneration, that I believe they act yet oftener without design than other people, and are insensibly drawn into both good and bad situations without knowing how they came there. Those authors and commentators, then, must

1727 oftener than any others lose their time and their labour who will always be looking out for great causes to great events. By neglecting trifles they overlook truth and by continual refinements what they seek. I hold Epicurus's opinion of the system of the universe so strong with regard to almost all political revolutions in it, and think the fortuitous influence of chance so much more decisive of the success or miscarriage of statesmen's schemes, than the skill or dexterity of the most able and most artful of them, that I am apt to attribute much less to the one, and much more to the other, than the generality of historians, either from prejudice to their heroes or partiality to their own conjectures, are willing to allow. I think most of these political contenders for profit and power are, like Catiline and Cæsar, actuated by the same principles of ambition and interest, and that as their success determines their characters, so accident determines their success. Had Cæsar fallen in the plains of Pharsalia, like Catiline in those of Pistoia, they had both been remembered in the same manner. The different fortune of those battles is what alone constitutes the different characters of these two men, and makes the one always mentioned as the first and the other as the last of mankind.

But to return to our English history. Some were of opinion that Sir Robert Walpole's continuance was owing merely to the Speaker's want of resolution to displace him, that he apprehended himself unequal to the charge of the whole, felt it too big for him to grasp, the duties of it too extensive, and feared to undertake what he should not be able to execute with credit and consequently not able to maintain for any time. Others imagine that he thought it would always be in his power to take the reins into his own hand, and only left them in Sir Robert Walpole's till his rival had drove through that dirty road of settling the Civil List; proposing by these means that, whatever odium was incurred by that regulation, it might all fall on Sir Robert's shoulders and be added to the heap thrown on in

the late reign, without sullying the rising lustre of those ¹⁷²⁷ ministers who would, after this was over, take the whole conduct and direction of affairs in the new one.

Others think that Sir Robert found means to gain the Queen, by making all his court solely to her, and that he did not weaken his interest with her by adding those two agreeable bribes of making her jointure (as before related) just double what had ever been given to a Queen of England before; and persuading the King to make her present establishment £60,000 a year, which would have been £20,000 more than the Speaker had given her, who proposed putting her establishment on the same footing with King Charles II.'s Queen. Sir Robert's solicitation, and the King's economy, split this difference, and settled her revenue at £50,000, which was still £10,000 more than any other Queen Consort had ever had or the Speaker had cut out for her. Besides this, as Sir Spencer Compton and his reputed adherents had always in the late reign made their court more to Mrs. Howard than the Princess, it was not thought unlikely that Her Royal Highness, as soon as she was Queen, might be influenced a little by her own resentment, though she persuaded the King to stifle his, and like to punish the neglect these people had been guilty of towards her by letting them feel their error and at once showing them her own power, Mrs. Howard's impotence, and their mistake.

Whether or no these reasons induced the Queen to make choice of Sir Robert may be disputable, but it is an undoubted fact that she did make choice of him, and that by her influence the King, without getting the better of his dislike to him, at least at first employed him.

It is very probable that when he talked to the King and Queen upon business (which it was necessary for him at first to do, in order to acquaint them with the situation of affairs), that they found him much more clear, more sensible, and more intelligible than the rest of them, and consequently believed him more able; that when he came

1727 to tell his own tale, to plead his own cause, and to describe the steps he had taken at home and abroad, in his own colours, the King and the Queen did not think his measures so ill-concerted, or the affairs of the nation in so bad a posture as his enemies had represented, and they perhaps expected to find them.

The arguments the Queen made use of in his behalf to the King to be sure were that his long experience and approved abilities would certainly enable him to serve the King better than any other body; that his being so much in their power would also make him more humble and submissive than any other minister; that his having made a vast fortune already would make him less solicitous about his own interest, and more at liberty to mind the King's, than any that could succeed him; that new leeches would not be less hungry, and that whoever the King employed would at first be looking only after gain, and treading those paths which most people frequent at their entrance into power, whereas, Sir Robert Walpole's fortune being already made, he would have nothing in view but the obliging his prince and securing the government, in order for him and his family to possess what he had already acquired in safety and tranquillity. This being the case, no doubt she told His Majesty that wise princes always made their resentment yield to their prudence, and their passion to their interest; and that enmity as well as friendship in royal breasts should always give way to policy; and that whatever would strengthen his hands, confirm his power, and establish his government, should be consulted preferably to any other views whatever.

This doctrine of stifling his dislike and moderating his resentment was the language she had always talked to him during his quarrel with his father when he was Prince; and by frequently inculcating such principles, she had prevailed with him in the late reign so far to suppress the natural warmth and vehemence of his temper as not to

push things to an extremity that could have done him little ¹⁷²⁷ good at present and might have endangered his future succession; and as he had once found the benefit of these mollifying, palliative counsels by a quiet and popular accession to the Crown, he was more easily, perhaps, brought to feel the force and propriety of such arguments in the present juncture of affairs, though very repugnant and unpalatable to his natural prompt disposition.

The situation of affairs abroad was no doubt another prevalent argument made use of by the Queen in favour of Sir Robert. For as England was at this time in alliance with no power in Europe of any weight but France, a change of the English administration might have alarmed France with the apprehension of a change of measures too, which, as it would have weakened the harmony and good intelligence subsisting between these two crowns, so it would also have increased the demands and strengthened the hands of the common enemy.

Spain had already conceived such hopes of this change upon the demise of the late King that, though the preliminary articles for opening the Congress at Soissons were already signed and brought to England the very same day with the news of the King's death, yet by a forced construction of the words in the article relating to Gibraltar Spain raised a cavilling objection which put a stop to all proceedings at the Congress as effectually as if the preliminary articles had not been signed at all.

But in order to illustrate the situation of foreign affairs at this time it will be necessary in a little short deduction of facts to take one cursory view of all the negotiations and transactions of the great Powers of Europe from the time of the first Vienna Treaty in 1725 between the Emperor and Spain, which laid the foundation of all the subsequent treaties and was the fountain of all the troubles and wrangles in which Europe had been involved from that time to this.

It will also be necessary afterwards, for the further explanation of these affairs, to give a transient narrative of the state and policy of every particular Court at this period, and to relate by whom these Courts were influenced, on what views they acted, and how these views were pursued.

The Treaty of Utrecht was the basis on which the peace of all the great Powers of Europe stood when King George I. came to the Crown; but notwithstanding that treaty, there remained many material points relating to the jarring interests of King Philip and the Emperor still unadjusted; and the mutual enmity that had subsisted between these two princes during their contention for the crown of Spain in the late war, was so ill reconciled, that the bringing them to temper with one another was a difficulty not yet got over.

But in the Treaty of London made in 1718 (a convention entered into between France, England, Holland, and the Emperor, and thence commonly called the Quadruple Alliance), an expedient was thought of to bring this reconciling project to bear; and indeed without this reconciliation it was impossible to put the peace of Europe on any solid or lasting foundation.

The expedient fixed upon was this. The Emperor looking upon the kingdom of Naples as an insecure and precarious possession whilst Sicily was in any hands but his own, it was proposed, in order to oblige and accommodate him, that the King of Sicily, to whom Sicily was given by the Treaty of Utrecht, should yield that island to the Emperor; that in lieu of it Spain should give up the island of Sardinia to the King of Sicily; and that Spain should be recompensed for that cession by settling the eventual succession to the Duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, in case the present possessors died without sons, on Don Carlos, second son to the King of Spain, and eldest son to the present Queen; and this succession was to be secured to Don Carlos by the introduction of six

thousand neutral Swiss troops (in the joint pay of France, England, and Spain), who were to garrison the chief ports and strong towns of these duchies.

These two material and favourite points of the Courts of Vienna and Madrid once agreed to and settled, it was proposed, in order to adjust any little remaining punctilios and disputes between the two Courts, that a Congress should be opened at Cambray, and that the Crowns of France and England should there mediate between them.

Holland, though mentioned in the preamble to this treaty as one of the principal contracting parties, never acceded to it; and the accession of Spain was not made till two years after the treaty had been concluded.

The public reasons given on all hands for entering into this treaty were that it was a treaty only explanatory of that article of the Treaty of Utrecht relating to the neutrality of Italy, and necessary to settle the balance of Europe.

The motive of the Emperor to this alliance was evident, as it tended to put him immediately in possession of Sicily; and the chief if not the only view of the King of Great Britain, I believe, was to oblige the Emperor in this point, in order to purchase by such good offices the investiture of Bremen and Verden, which he so much wished and had so long solicited in vain.

The reason why France gave into it was certainly because the Duke of Orleans, who was then Regent of France, and by the act of renunciation next heir to the crown in case the King died without children, was glad to enter into any treaty in which that act of King Philip's renunciation was so formally and so strongly renewed. Nor was he averse at this time and for this reason to the doing anything that would engage the Emperor and England to be more firmly his friends, in case that accident happened.

The reasons Spain had for being backward to accede to this alliance were, first, the King's being unwilling to

renew and strengthen the renunciation to the Crown of France; and next, the desire Spain had to possess herself, if she could, by force of Sicily, as she had done, two years before, of Sardinia.

In order to compass this seizure, after¹ the Quadruple Alliance was concluded Spain sent a great fleet under the command of Admiral Castinetti into the Mediterranean. At the same time England sent another to oppose them, under Lord Torrington. They fought, England was victorious, and Sicily put into the hands of the Emperor.

And here lay the great defect either in the plan or the execution of the chief stipulations in the Quadruple Alliance; for as the putting the Emperor into the possession of Sicily, and the introduction of the six thousand Swiss troops for the security of Don Carlos's succession, were conditional articles, and dependent upon one another, so the contracting parties to this alliance ought never to have suffered a distinct and separate execution of the one without the other. The permitting the imperial troops to enter Sicily before the neutral troops entered into Parma and Tuscany was the occasion of all the subsequent difficulties that arose upon that point; as it gave the Emperor an occasion of making a thousand demurs and disputes, which he never would have thought of had they suspended at the same time the perfecting what he had so much at heart as the acquisition of Sicily.

This attempt of Spain on that island having miscarried, the Queen of Spain now turned her thoughts solely to the interest of her son Don Carlos; and not a little piqued, no doubt, at England, who had thrown this bar in her way when she thought to have possessed herself of Sicily, and treated upon the establishment of Don Carlos in Italy with that powerful mediator in her hands. However, this design having proved abortive, she at last acceded to the Quadruple Alliance; acquiesced under the dispositions

¹Before. The Quadruple Alliance was concluded on July 22; the Spanish and English fleets sailed in June.

therein made for the security of her son's eventual succession to Parma and Tuscany; consented to the opening of the Congress at Cambray, and left the mediation there between Spain and the Emperor entirely to France and England.

But whilst this mock Congress was carrying on, the Duke de Ripperda, a projecting, speculating, enterprising, inconsiderate, hot-headed fellow, with great views rather than great parts, was sent by the Queen of Spain to Vienna, and there privately concluded a treaty between the Emperor and Spain.

It would be both tedious and uninteresting here to enter into the detail of all the writings of these times for and against the English ministers, in which one side asserted and the other denied what was the purport of the secret articles of this treaty. It is possible the English ministers might say more than was true, in order to justify their precipitate entrance into the Treaty of Hanover; but it is certain that their opponents allowed a great deal too little when they at first denied that there was any secret treaty at all, and never to the last allowed that the tenor of those secret articles, if there were any, was such as affected the immediate interest of Great Britain, or ought to have alarmed us.

That there was some secret treaty was evident at first from the tendency of all the articles of the public treaty being only in favour of the Emperor, as the guarantee of the hereditary dominions of the House of Austria, privileges of trade, subsidies, etc.; and throughout the whole public treaty not the least mention made of Don Carlos's succession to Parma and Tuscany; which was a demonstration that there must be some secret stipulations in his favour, otherwise this favourite point would not have been neglected. Besides this, when Gibraltar came to be demanded by Spain, and that we upbraided the Emperor with having entered into engagements to assist Spain with force to regain that place, in case amicable applications

failed, Count Starhemberg, the Emperor's ambassador at London, showed the article relating to Gibraltar in the secret treaty, to clear the Emperor of having promised anything more than his good offices and mediation upon that head; which was so far indiscreetly done, as it was a confession that there was some secret treaty, which hitherto had been denied.

But, without expatiating further on this dispute between the English ministers and their opponents, I shall relate the matter of fact as I conceive it from the best lights I have been able to get on reading the whole controversy on both sides.

Between the public and private stipulations of this Treaty of Vienna, I take the substance of it to have been this: that the Emperor and Spain were to give one another reciprocal assistance in the maintenance of the Ostend Company, and the restitution of Gibraltar; Spain was to guarantee the indivisible succession of the Austrian dominions to the Emperor's eldest daughter; the Queen of Spain's two eldest sons were to marry the two archduchesses; vast subsidies were to be paid by Spain to the Emperor; and all the same advantages of trade to either Indies were to be allowed by Spain to the Emperor that were granted by former treaties either to England or Holland.

It is easy to imagine that France and England, who had been appointed mediators between Spain and the Emperor, did not like the figure they made upon this occasion, though none of the articles or stipulations of this treaty openly avowed were contradictory to any in the Quadruple Alliance. However, Spain was so conscious that some apology was necessary for appointing France and England the pageant mediators in a quarrel which, notwithstanding that appointment, was made up without their privity, that she excused herself by saying she took her cause into her own hands on account of the affront put upon her by France in sending back the Infanta and annulling that

marriage with the King of France; and that England having refused, after this affront, to accept of the sole mediation and to act alone, Spain was obliged either to act in this manner or not to have her affairs with the Emperor settled at all.

But this was only a plausible excuse for her conduct on this occasion, dates and facts proving that these were not her motives; for the sending back the Infanta was a measure not taken till the beginning of March, 1725, and by the end of the April following the Treaty of Vienna was concluded, signed, and arrived at Madrid; which could not have been, if it had only been projected in resentment of that step taken by the Court of France: and as to England's refusal of the sole mediation, that refusal being of a yet later date, it could have no sort of influence in setting the Treaty of Vienna on foot; so far from it, that this treaty was signed in form at Vienna, 30th April, 1725, which was but a week after the King of England's refusal of the sole mediation was known at Madrid, and long before it could be known at Vienna. Besides this, the Duke de Ripperda's full powers for making this treaty had been signed in November, 1724, which was six months before the sending back the Infanta was thought of; and, consequently, as long before the sole mediation could have been proposed. So that the making this excuse only showed they thought some excuse necessary, and could not find one that would justify or avail them.¹

I have dwelt longer on this point, as the not accepting the sole mediation is the great fault imputed to our ministers by all those writers who have arraigned their conduct; but I think one may, with a great deal of candour, pronounce that, if our ministers had accepted of the sole mediation at the time it was offered, they would have been guilty of a much greater error, both in justice and interest, and consequently in policy, than any that

¹Anger at the return of the Infanta was the cause of Spain's accepting such one-sided terms.

can now be laid to their charge. As to the justice of disjoining themselves from France upon this occasion, it can never be alleged that France having disengaged Spain was any reason why England should disoblige France; and of course no plea for England acting alone in a transaction which they had undertaken together. Thus much is to be said for the equity of the refusal, which in national transactions, I may be told perhaps, neither is nor ought ever to be considered. But supposing the interest of England only to be considered, it would certainly never have turned out for the advantage of England to have accepted this proposal, because it could have given a very reasonable disgust to the Court of France (with whom we were then in the strictest alliance), without giving us any merit towards Spain or the Emperor, whose reconciliation was already agreed on, and not left to be the work of our hands. So that our giving in to this proposal would have turned to no other account than proving ourselves the dupes of Spain, who could make this offer (all circumstances considered) with no other view than to weaken the union, sow jealousies, and create a coolness at this important crisis between France and England; and would at least have made England engross all the ridicule of being chosen public arbitrator in a quarrel already privately made up.

As for the real reasons the Courts of Madrid and Vienna had for entering into this treaty, if we will consider the situation, the policy, and views of these two Courts at this period of time, and how far the stipulations and articles contained in this treaty were reciprocal gratifications of all the favourite points of the contracting parties, there want no refining conjectures to account for the setting such a scheme on foot, or the solicitude that each of these powers showed for putting it in execution.

The Emperor, as he is a prince who has very extensive and scattered territories, a great number of troops, and very little money, is always negotiating for the latter, in

order to maintain the two others. He has generally very able servants both in civil and military affairs, and never had two more able than Prince Eugene and Sinzendorff, his principal counsellors at that time.

But by the whole tenor of the conduct of the Court of Vienna, their maxims seem to be, to say anything, to promise anything, or to sign anything that will serve the present purpose; to get what they can, without ever considering afterwards by whom, how, or when they were obliged; and, in short, to be just or unjust, grateful or ungrateful, say and unsay, make and unmake treaties, just as the present occurrence requires, and as money can be got by their entering into any engagements, adhering to them or departing from them. The vast personal obligations the present Emperor had to England on account of the last long war never seemed to have any weight in His Imperial Majesty's resolutions, conduct, or counsels, for one moment, in any one step, or any one instance, ever after. The part England had taken in his cause during that expensive war in Spain was soon forgot by him, though the effects of that friendship remained too heavy a burden on the people of England, in debts and taxes, not to be still felt and remembered by them. The putting Sicily into his hands, though a more recent obligation, was not better acknowledged or remembered; for the investiture of Bremen and Verden, for which Lord Cadogan negotiated and Lord Torrington fought, was not granted, though promised, and probably was kept back in order to be held out once more as a bait to the next job in which the interposition of England should be wanted. The great and favourite points of the Court of Vienna were getting money and subsidies at any rate, securing the undivided succession of the hereditary Austrian dominions in case the Emperor had no sons, the suffering no other power, if they could help it, to get footing in Italy, and the establishment of the Ostend Company. On these views the Emperor entered into this

Treaty of Vienna with Spain in 1725, which answered them every one, for by the articles of this treaty he was to have immense subsidies paid to him by Spain for troops he was to furnish to besiege Gibraltar; he was to be supported in the establishment of the Ostend Company; and, by the marriage of his eldest daughter to Don Carlos, the Queen of Spain's eldest son, he was to keep the hereditary Austrian dominions entire, and see his daughter's husband, who was eventual successor to the Duchies of Parma and Tuscany, sole possessor of all Italy. But this treaty, by getting him too much, got him nothing (saving the subsidies); for when all the rest of Europe saw how very formidable a power might arise on this foundation, some justly and others, I think, unjustly, alarmed, judged it their joint interest to crush this project in the embryo. The English ministers pretend to affirm that in this treaty, in case England should oppose the execution of it and the marriage of Don Carlos with the eldest archduchess, there was a secret article to impose the Pretender upon us, and make his concurrence to this treaty the condition of his restoration. Whether this really was so, or whether it was a story trumped up to excuse their very precipitate entrance into the Treaty of Hanover, is a point that never has, and in all probability never will, be cleared.¹ It is certain that the Duke de Ripperda, who then governed Spain, did, both at Madrid and Vienna, in very big blustering terms, often declare this to be his scheme; and that, if England was not quiet, she should repent her opposition, and be made to receive a King who would be more tractable, or at least more passive.

This was the situation of the Court of Vienna. As to that of Spain, it has partly been explained by the account of the other. The crown of Spain being on the head of a man who had once abdicated it, then taken it again and again wished to lay it aside, one who was half fool and half madman, he had little or no share in any act of that Court.

¹There was no such clause.

He was governed entirely by his wife, an Italian by birth, whose sole view was aggrandizing her own children, and securing herself a retreat in Italy in case she outlived her husband, whose brains and constitution were equally crazy and broken. The Prince of Asturias, her husband's son by a former wife, being heir to the crown of Spain, she never considered the interest of that kingdom in any of her negotiations; and though her eldest and favourite son, Don Carlos, had the eventual succession of Parma and Tuscany secured to him by the Quadruple Alliance, yet the Duke de Ripperda had so extended her views for Don Carlos's grandeur, by this scheme of the Vienna Treaty, that, lured and elated by those hopes of marrying him to the archduchess, making him Emperor, and getting him all Italy, she lost sight of what was feasible in order to pursue what was impracticable; and draining the treasures of Spain (though supplied by the Indies) to bribe the favour and supply the indigence of the Court of Vienna, she ran away with this extravagant chimerical scheme, forgot or neglected the succession of Parma and Tuscany, as little things not worth thinking of, and alarmed and embroiled all Europe with this project, which a mad minister had put into the head of this mad Queen, whose influence over her mad husband was sufficient to lead him blindfold into this or any other mad project she thought fit.

But to oppose the execution of this Treaty of Vienna, France and England entered immediately, in 1725, into the Treaty of Hanover, called a defensive treaty. The chief object of it was, I believe, a piece of flattery of Lord Townshend's to the late King, who was piqued at not having been able to obtain the investiture of Bremen and Verden, looked upon himself as the Emperor's dupe, and was glad to lay hold of the first pretence he could find to do anything that would thwart His Imperial Majesty's inclination, combat his interest, or mortify his pride. The public reasons given out for setting this Treaty of

Hanover on foot were the alarm all Europe had taken upon the sudden, unnatural, clandestine, and formidable conjunction of these two great powers, the Empire and Spain; the expediency of forming some counter-alliance to make a stand against the union, and preserve the balance of power in Europe; and the necessity there was of putting a stop to the intended marriage of Don Carlos, by early protesting against it. The dangerous consequences which the contracting parties to the Treaty of Hanover said all Europe might apprehend from this match were these. First, that it would demonstrably and inevitably unite all Italy to the Empire after the death of the present Emperor; in the next place, as there was only the Prince of Asturias's life between Don Carlos and the crown of Spain, so very probably Spain might be added to those vast possessions; and, besides this, the King of France having then no children, there was a possibility even of that crown also devolving to Don Carlos, and his being consequently, if not universal monarch of Europe, at least a power too strong for any of the rest, or all of them put together, to contend with. All these contingencies and possible events considered, the allies of Hanover insisted on this match being repugnant to the interest of every state in Europe, and consequently the business of all Europe to oppose and prevent it.

In consequence of this Treaty of Hanover three great fleets were immediately fitted out on the part of England; one of which was sent to the coast of Spain to protect our merchant-ships and to be ready to defend Gibraltar; another was ordered to the West Indies to block up the galleons in Porto Bello, and prevent the arrival of money in Spain, without which the allies of the Vienna Treaty could not put the articles of it in execution; and the third sailed into the Baltic to secure (as was pretended) the pacification of the North and defend Sweden in case she acceded to the Treaty of Hanover from the resentment of the Moscovite, who was joined with the Emperor and

would have been glad of any pretence to attack her. These were the reasons given for the equipment of this third expensive fleet, whilst the strongest, which was the security and defence of Bremen and Verden, operated only in secret. In the meantime, pursuant to the stipulations of the Treaty of Vienna, immense remittances were made to the Emperor. Soon after, Gibraltar was demanded by Spain, in consequence of an equivocal promissory letter, written by the late King to the King of Spain;¹ and those demands not being complied with, the siege of Gibraltar was opened.

France was at this time governed entirely by Cardinal Fleury; he was, though not nominally, yet virtually, First Minister, and with undivided sway; he had been about the King from his infancy, and had such full possession of him, that from the time of Monsieur le Duc's² disgrace nobody but the Cardinal ever spoke to him of any business whatever. This monopoly of the King's ear and confidence the Cardinal owed partly to His Majesty's opinion of him and an habitual attachment that people mistook for affection, and partly to the King's natural laziness and dislike to letting many people know how ignorant he was in his own affairs, which was a defect he had just sense enough to feel and be ashamed of, but not resolution and application enough to correct and amend. I cannot, by the best accounts I have had, or by what I have myself seen, of this insensible piece of royalty, venture absolutely to say that he was of a good or a bad disposition, for, more properly speaking, he was of no disposition at all; he was neither merciful nor cruel, without affection or enmity, gratitude or resentment, and, to all appearances, without pleasure or pain. He ate and propagated his species with so little apparent choice in the objects of these appetites that these actions seemed rather the mechanical operations

¹Dated 1st June, 1721, and promising to restore Gibraltar, subject to the consent of Parliament, which was known to be unobtainable.

²The Duc de Bourbon, who had been First Minister from 1723-26.

of an automaton than the result of the will and direction of a rational being, so that while his body by some instinctive faculty exercised its natural functions the state of his mind on all occasions seemed still to be an entire apathy, unacting and unmoved. If he had any passion it was avarice, and if he took pleasure in any amusement it was in gaming. He had not any share in that epidemical gaiety and alacrity that runs through the generality of the French nation, but seemed to take as little pleasure as he gave, to live to as little purpose to himself as to anybody else, and to have no more joy in being King than his people had advantages from being his subjects.

It was lucky for France that the sole management of this regal puppet fell at last into the Cardinal's hands; for though his Eminence was not a man of the first-rate parts, the brightest talents, or the most elevated genius, yet he had a good plain practical understanding, was a prudent minister, and an honest man. He was disinterested and conscientious, candid, open, steady, and unfeignedly pious. He loved the King with the affection of a parent as well as the duty of a subject, served his country with the zeal of the warmest patriot, and considered mankind with the justice and charity of the strictest Christian. What faults he had were emanations from his virtues; for his support of the Jesuits to a degree that might be called an oppression and persecution of their great opponents, the Jansenists, proceeded only from too strict an adherence to what he thought the truth, the safety of the Government, and the welfare of the people. He always believed the principles of the Jansenists to be as strong for liberty in State as in Church matters, and that if ever they were given way to in the one, they would quickly gain ground in the other, and cause, of course, such convulsions in the Government that nobody could foresee where the consequences of such a spirit would end, nor how far it might operate when assisted by the particular vivacity of the French nation and the general love of

innovation and freedom in all mankind. Those actions, which got him the character of a covetous, griping minister, were only the consequences of rather too sparing and frugal a dispensation of the King's treasure, which he found in so dissipated a condition at his entrance into power, that it required at first the strictest economy to bring it into any order, method, or credit.

He had no view in what he saved to enriching himself or his family. The nepotism of other Cardinals and almost all Popes had no influence in his conduct, for he had but two nephews, one in the marine and the other in the Church, and to avoid the reproach of partiality to his own blood at the expense of the public, he neglected their advancement, even to a fault.

His great principle in politics was to keep peace in Europe as long as it was possible, and by his adherence to this principle France, during his administration, recovered all the havoc and distress and misery that had been brought upon her by a series of so many years' mismanagement in his predecessors'. She no longer groaned under the consequences of the imprudent, obstinate, and boundless ambition of Louis XIV., nor the misfortunes generally entailed on the people by long, expensive, and unsuccessful wars. The profligacy, extravagance and dissipation of the Duke of Orleans' regency and the confusion of Mr. Law's Mississippi scheme, were no longer felt, any more than the bad effects of the succeeding times, when the government falling into the hands of that weak, ignorant, and indolent Prince, Monsieur le Duc, France suffered all those hardships which must naturally and unavoidably be brought on a nation when the supineness of such a governor leaves the rapaciousness of such an abandoned, unfeeling, and unprincipled a woman as his mistress, Madame de Prie, full scope and plenitude of power to act all the follies, oppressions, and injustices that passion, avarice, vanity, and insolence can suggest.

This was the state of France when the Cardinal came

into the Hanover Treaty, which, without being repugnant to his pacific principles, was consonant to the inherent and fundamental policy of all Frenchmen, who are naturally jealous of the power of the House of Austria, and always ready to enter into any measures to check and confine it.

To oppose the execution then of the Vienna Treaty made between the Emperor and Spain, France and England formed the Hanover Treaty, 3rd September, 1727, when the late King was at Hanover. As soon as this treaty was concluded, to which England, France, and Prussia were the original contracting parties, copies of it were sent to all the Courts and little States in Europe; and whilst the Emperor and Spain were soliciting, on one hand, for accessions to the Treaty of Vienna, England and France were, on the other, strengthening, by as many powers as they could list, the alliance of Hanover.

The defection of the King of Prussia from the latter was a sudden turn, and proceeded partly from a fear of his superior, the Emperor, and partly from a sullen, envious hatred he bore to his father-in-law, the King of England, who, from the time of his advancement to that crown, sank in his son-in-law's favour, just in the same proportion as he rose above him in grandeur. This was a great loss to the allies of Hanover, the King of Prussia having a standing force of 70,000 men. The forces of Spain were about 60,000, besides their naval power; and the army of the Emperor in all, after the new levies, about 200,000. Muscovy was the only considerable power, besides Prussia, that acceded to the Treaty of Vienna; for whilst the Czarina alone obliged herself, in case of a rupture, to furnish 30,000 men, the Electors of Bavaria, Cologne, and Trèves, besides several other little German Princes that his Imperial Majesty had bullied, cajoled, or bought into his party, could muster no more than 27,000 men when all their forces were clubbed together.

To the Hanover alliance came in Holland, Sweden, and Denmark. Holland augmented her forces from 30,000 to

50,000 men by land, and by sea had eighteen men-of-war ¹⁷²⁷ ready to sail. The quota of Sweden, by virtue of their treaty, was 5,000 men, and 10,000 more they were to have ready in consideration of a yearly subsidy of £100,000 for three years, paid jointly by France and England. Denmark was to have 24,000 men standing troops, and for a subsidy paid by France for four years was to augment their forces to 30,000 if required. France increased her regular troops 30,000 men, which made them in all amount to 160,000. They had also a disciplined militia of 60,000 men, sea-magazines, artillery, and ammunition ready to take the field, and for sea-services they fitted out this year twelve men-of-war.

The King of England, as Elector, increased his troops from 16,000 to 22,000 men, and as King of England from 18,000 to 26,000 men; 20,000 men were also voted by the Parliament that year for the sea-service, and 12,000 Hessians were taken into the pay of Great Britain alone, at an expense of £240,000 a year. This subsidy caused so much clamour in Parliament and so much disaffection throughout the whole nation, that I shall speak of it hereafter more at large.

Thus almost all the powers of Europe were engaged directly or indirectly in support of the Treaty of Vienna or Hanover respectively, whilst the accumulated land-forces of the first and all their allies amounted to about 387,000 men, and of the latter to about 315,000 men.

In this perplexed, entangled, and amphibious state of broken peace and undeclared war did King George II. at his accession to the throne find the political affairs of Europe.

As soon as his Civil List was settled the old Parliament was dismissed, and soon after a new one called. The choice of this new Parliament was consigned entirely to the care of Sir Robert Walpole, which confirmed the whole world in the opinion of the King's being determined to continue him First Minister, everybody being capable, without

1727 much penetration or refinement, to reason, that a man who was to have his friends, followers, and adherents removed from Court would never have Court money given him to bring them into Parliament.

In October the ceremony of the Coronation was performed with all the pomp and magnificence that could be contrived; the present King differing so much from the last, that all the pageantry and splendour, badges and trappings of royalty, were as pleasing to the son as they were irksome to the father. The dress of the Queen on this occasion was as fine as the accumulated riches of the City and suburbs could make it; for besides her own jewels (which were a great number and very valuable) she had on her head and on her shoulders all the pearls she could borrow of the ladies of quality at one end of the town, and on her petticoat all the diamonds she could hire of the Jews and jewellers at the other; so that the appearance and the truth of her finery was a mixture of magnificence and meanness not unlike the éclat of royalty in many other particulars when it comes to be nicely examined and its sources traced to what money hires or flattery lends.¹

Soon after the King came to the crown he made Sir John Hobart, Sir Thomas Wentworth, Sir William Monson, and Sir Thomas Coke peers by the titles of Lord Hobart, Lord Malton, Lord Monson, and Lord Lovel.

When first the Queen's power with the King began to appear (which was as soon as ever he was King) people made great court to Mrs. Clayton, one of the women of her bedchamber. This lady having been always thought her favourite when Princess, and from her first coming over constantly in her service, and seemingly in her confidence, everybody imagined she would have power in the new reign; but Sir Robert Walpole, either jealous of her

¹Lady Suffolk, who was responsible for these arrangements, told Horace Walpole that Queen Anne borrowed jewels too (*Reminiscences*; ed. Toynbee, p. 112).

interest from not believing her cordially in his, or thinking 1727 he wanted no assistance, soon clipped the wing of her ambition, and showed the world that as he wanted no opinions but his own to support him, so he would suffer no other to approach.

Mrs. Clayton had a head fitter for a Court than her temper, her passions being to the full as strong as her understanding; and as the one hindered her from being blind to people's faults, the other often hindered her too from seeming so. She had sense enough to perceive what black and dirty company, by living in a Court, she was forced to keep; had honour enough to despise them, and goodness enough to hate them, and not hypocrisy enough at the same time to tell them they were white and clean. I knew her intimately, and think she had really a warm, honest, noble, generous, benevolent, friendly heart; and if she had the common weakness of letting those she wished ill to see it, she had in recompense the uncommon merit of letting those she wished well to not only see, but feel it. She had so great a pleasure in doing real good that she frequently employed the interest she had at Court in favour of people who could no way repay her, and often for such as had not even solicited it; and by this conduct reversed the manners and maxims of most courtiers and politicians, as she seemed generally in the obligations she conferred to consider more who wanted her than whom she wanted, a way of thinking very different from that of her master and mistress, who looked upon human kind as so many commodities in a market, which, without favour or affection, they considered only in the degree they were useful, and paid for them in that proportion, Sir Robert Walpole being sworn appraiser to their Majesties at all these sales.

Mrs. Clayton and Mrs. Howard hated one another very civilly and very heartily, but not in equal constraint; for whilst Mrs. Clayton was every moment like Mount Etna, ready to burst when she did not flame, Mrs. Howard

1727 was as much mistress of her passions as of her limbs, and could as easily prevent the one from showing she had a mind to strike, as she could the other from giving the blow. Her passions, if I may be allowed the comparison, were like well-managed horses, at once both hot and tractable. The enmity between these two ladies was a very natural consequence of their situations, the one having been always attached to the master, and the other to the mistress. Each was jealous of the other's interest, and each overrated it, for as soon as their power (had they had any) came to have an opportunity of showing itself, the whole world perceived that the reputed favourite of the Princess had as little real weight with the Queen as the reputed mistress of the Prince had with the King.

And as people now plainly saw that all Court interest, power, profit, favour, and preferment were returning in this reign to the same track in which they had travelled in the last, lampoons, libels, pamphlets, satires, and ballads were handed about, both publicly and privately, some in print and some in manuscript, abusing and ridiculing the King, the Queen, their Ministers, and all that belonged to them. The subject of most of them was Sir Robert's having bought the Queen, and the Queen's governing the King, which thought was over and over again repeated in a thousand different shapes and dresses, both of prose and verse. And as the *Craftsman*¹ had not yet lashed their Majesties out of all feeling for these transitory verbal corrections that smart without wounding and hurt without being dangerous, so the King's vehemence and pride, and the Queen's apprehension of his being told of her power till he might happen to feel it, made them both at first excessively uneasy. However, as the Queen by long studying and long experience of his temper knew how to instil her own sentiments, whilst she affected to receive His Majesty's, she could appear convinced whilst she was controverting, and obedient whilst she was ruling; and

¹Started in 1726.

by this means her dexterity and address made it impossible 1727 for anybody to persuade him what was truly his case, and that whilst she was seemingly on every occasion giving up her opinion and her will to his, she was always in reality turning his opinion and bending his will to hers. She managed this deified image as the heathen priests used to do the oracles of old, when, kneeling and prostrate before the altars of a pageant god, they received with the greatest devotion and reverence those directions in public which they had before instilled and regulated in private. And as these idols consequently were only propitious to the favourites of the augurers, so nobody who had not tampered with our chief priestess ever received a favourable answer from our god. Storms and thunder greeted every votary that entered the temple without her protection; calms and sunshine those who obtained it. The King himself was so little sensible of this being his case that one day, enumerating the people who had governed this country in other reigns, he said Charles I. was governed by his wife; Charles II. by his whores; King James by his priests; King William by his men, and Queen Anne by her women, favourites. His father, he added, had been governed by anybody that could get at him. And at the end of this compendious history of our great and wise monarchs, with a significant, satisfied, triumphant air, he turned about, smiling, to one of his auditors, and asked him: "And who do they say governs now?" Whether this is a true or a false story of the King, I know not, but it was currently reported and generally believed. The following verses will serve for a specimen of the strain in which the libels, satires, and lampoons of these days were composed:

"You may strut, dapper George, but 'twill all be in vain;
We know 'tis Queen Caroline, not you, that reign—
You govern no more than Don Philip of Spain.
Then if you would have us fall down and adore you,
Lock up your fat spouse, as your dad did before you."

1727 This was one of the poetical pasquinades that were handed about in manuscript at this time. There was another that began—

“Since England was England, there never was seen
So strutting a King, and so prating a Queen,” etc.

and several more of the same stamp and in the same style. People found they galled, and that increased the number of them. The first of those I have cited had like to have been fatal to Lord Scarborough. Upon being taxed by the King with having seen it, he confessed he had so, but refused absolutely to say by whom it had been shown him, assuring His Majesty that previously to his reading it or to the knowing what it was, he had given his honour never to tell through whose hands he received it. The King, with great warmth and anger, said to him: “Had I been Lord Scarborough in this situation and you King, the man should have shot me, or I him, who had dared to affront me, in the person of my master, by showing me such insolent nonsense.” Lord Scarborough replied, he had never told His Majesty that it was a man from whom he had it, and persisting in the concealment he had promised, left the King (who never spoke to him for some months after) almost as much irritated against him as the author.

Lord Scarborough had been in the King’s service as Master of the Horse, when he was Prince, from the time the Hanover family first came into England. On the King’s accession to the throne he was continued in that post, and the first officer declared. He was a man of worth, family, quality, sense, figure, character, and honour. He had the Garter given him in the late reign, was bred in a camp, from thence brought to Court, and had all the gallantry of the one and the politeness of the other. He was amiable and beloved, two things which, though they ought, do not always meet. He was of the Cabinet Council, and was equally fit to be trusted in the most important

affairs or advised with in the most delicate, having knowledge, application, and observation, an excellent judgment, and (without the brilliant éclat of the most showish parts) a discerning, practical, useful, sound understanding. His education had inclined him a little too much to the love of an army. He was one of the best speakers of his time in the House of Lords, clear in his matter, forcible in his expression; and gave weight not only by his words, but by his character, to any cause he maintained, or any opinion he inclined to.

When first the King came to the Crown Lord Chesterfield was thought to have interest. The accident of his being in waiting at that time as Lord of his Bedchamber gave him that appearance of interest to those who judge of Courts by appearances; and his having been long a declared enemy of Sir Robert Walpole's, made the speculative part of the world conclude it. Lord Chesterfield was allowed by everybody to have more conversable entertaining table-wit than any man of his time. His propensity to ridicule, in which he indulged himself with infinite humour and no distinction, and with inexhaustible spirits and no discretion, made him sought and feared, liked and not loved, by most of his acquaintance. No sex, no relation, no rank, no power, no profession, no friendship, no obligation, was a shield from those pointed, glittering weapons, that seemed to shine only to a stander-by, but cut deep in those they touched. All his acquaintance were indifferently the objects of his satire, and served promiscuously to feed that voracious appetite for abuse that made him fall on everything that came in his way, and treat every one of his companions in rotation at the expense of the rest. I remember two lines in a satire of Boileau's that fit him exactly:

“Mais c'est un petit fou qui se croit tout permis,
Et qui pour un bon mot va perdre vingt amis.”

And as his lordship, for want of principle, often sacrificed

1727 his character to his interest, so by these means he as often, for want of prudence, sacrificed his interest to his vanity. With a person as disagreeable as it was possible for a human figure to be without being deformed, he affected following many women of the first beauty and the most in fashion, and, if you would have taken his word for it, not without success; whilst in fact and in truth he never gained any one above the venal rank of those whom an Adonis or a Vulcan might be equally well with, for an equal sum of money. He was very short, disproportioned, thick, and clumsily made; had a broad, rough-featured, ugly face, with black teeth, and a head big enough for a Polyphemus. One Ben Ashurst, who said few good things, though admired for many, told Lord Chesterfield once that he was like a stunted giant, which was a humorous idea and really apposite. Such a thing would disconcert Lord Chesterfield as much as it would have done anybody who had neither his wit nor his assurance on other occasions; for though he could attack vigorously, he could defend but weakly, his quickness never showing itself in reply, any more than his understanding in argument.

Part of the character which Bishop Burnet gives of his grandfather, the Marquis of Halifax, seems to be a prophetic description of Lord Chesterfield; at least he has an hereditary title to it:

“The liveliness of Lord Halifax’s imagination (says the Bishop) was always too hard for his judgment: a severe jest was preferred by him to all arguments whatsoever; and if he could find a new jest to make even what he himself had suggested in counsel just before seem ridiculous, he could not hold, but would study to raise the credit of his wit, though it made others call his judgment in question.”

When the distribution of places, changes, and promotions was making at the beginning of this reign, the King told Sir Robert Walpole he would have something done for Chesterfield. Sir Robert, who did not dislike removing so declared an enemy to a little distance from the King’s ear, proposed sending Lord Chesterfield Ambassador to

Holland; and Lord Chesterfield, afraid to act against Sir ¹⁷²⁷ Robert, and ashamed to act under him, gave in to this proposal; thinking it would allow people time to forget the declarations he had made of never forgiving Sir Robert and save him from a little of that ridicule which the laughers of his acquaintance would be apt to lavish upon him when they saw him listed again under the banner of a man he had formerly deserted, and against whom he had so long fought with his wit, that only weapon with which he cared for fighting.

If anybody had a friendship for Lord Chesterfield, it was Lord Scarborough; yet it was impossible to see a stronger contrast of character in any two men, who neither wanted understanding, but the sort of understanding each of them possessed was almost as different as sense and nonsense, Lord Scarborough always searching after truth, loving it, and adhering to it, whereas Lord Chesterfield looked on nothing in that light. He never considered what was true or false, but related everything in which he had no interest just as his imagination suggested it would tell best; and, if by sinking, adding, or altering, any circumstance it served either the purpose of his interest, his vanity, or his enmity, he would dress it up in that fashion without any scruple, and oftentimes with as little probability; by which means, as much as he piqued himself on being distinguished for his wit, he often gave people a greater opinion of the copiousness of his invention and the fertility of his imagination than he desired, an idle schoolboy being as capable of changing facts as a Socrates or a Cicero. Lord Scarborough had understanding, with judgment, and without wit, Lord Chesterfield, a speculative head, with wit, and without judgment. Lord Scarborough had honour and principle, Lord Chesterfield, neither; the one valued them wherever he saw them, the other despised the reality, and believed those who seemed to have most had generally only the appearance, especially if they had sense. Patriotism,

1728 adherence to a party, the love of one's country, and a concern for the public, were his common topics for ridicule. He would not scruple to own that he thought the laws of honour in men, and the rules of virtue in women, like the tenets of an established religion, very proper things to inculcate, but what the people of sense and discernment, of both sexes, professed without regarding, and transgressed whilst they recommended. Nor were the tempers of these two men more alike than their understanding or their principles, Lord Scarborough being generally splenetic and absent, Lord Chesterfield always cheerful and present. Everybody liked the character of the one, without being very solicitous for his company, and everybody was solicitous for the company of the other, without liking his character. In short, Lord Scarborough was an honest, prudent man, capable of being a good friend, and Lord Chesterfield a dishonest, irresolute, imprudent creature, capable only of being a disagreeable enemy.

Jan. 23 About the middle of January, 1728, the Parliament met. Sir Spencer Compton, who had been Speaker fourteen years, being now created Lord Wilmington, a new one was to be chosen, and Mr. Onslow pitched upon to be the man. As he had no great pretensions to it from his age, his character, his weight in the House, or his particular knowledge of the business, Sir Robert Walpole imagined that he must look upon his promotion entirely as an act of his favour, and consequently think himself obliged, in honour, interest, and gratitude, to show all the complaisance in his power to his patron and benefactor. However, Mr. Onslow had just that degree of fitness for this office, when he was first put into it, that hindered the world from exclaiming against him, and yet was not enough for him to take it as his due. He was a man naturally eloquent, but rather too florid; was as far from wanting parts or application as he was from possessing prudence or judgment; he had kept bad company of the collegiate kind, by which he had contracted a stiffness and pedantry in his manner of

conversing; and whilst he was thoroughly knowing in past ¹⁷²⁸ times, was totally ignorant of the modern world. No man ever courted popularity more, and to no man popularity was ever more coy. He cajoled both parties, and obliged neither; he disengaged his patron by seeming to favour his opponents, and gained no credit with them because it was only seeming. He had one merit truly and sincerely (as I believe, at least), which was an attachment to the constitution of England, and a love of liberty that never gave way; and was certainly no favourer of the power of the Crown or the Church. But these true Whig and laudable principles were so daubed by canting, fulsome, bombast professions, that it was as hard to find out whether there was anything good at bottom, as it would be to find out real beauty in a painted lady. In general he was passionate in his temper, violent in his manner, coxcomical in his gestures, and injudicious in his conduct.

The King was forced to meet his Parliament with a sort of hereditary speech, for it was just in the same strain with the last half-dozen of his father's, the topics of which were the uncertain state of Europe, the intricacy of affairs, the natural protraction of treaties, the hopes of a happy conclusion being near at hand, and the dependence he had in the loyalty and goodwill of his Parliament for supporting him with money and troops. He concluded this part of royal oratory with recommending unanimity in their proceedings, and desiring (not in so many words, but by strong implication) an entire confidence in him and his ministers, and an implicit belief that it was impossible for him to take any step that was not for the welfare and prosperity of his people.

There was little business to do in this Session besides that of giving the supplies for the current service of the year, and hearing petitions on elections. As to the first, they were granted with a most liberal hand; and as to their proceedings with regard to the last of these occupations, I believe the manifest injustice and glaring violation of all

1728 truth in the decisions of this Parliament surpass even the most flagrant and infamous instances of any of their predecessors. They voted in one case forty more than ninety; in another they cut off the votes of about seven towns and some thousand voters, who had not only been determined to have voices by former committees of elections, but had had their right of voting confirmed to them by express words of an Act of Parliament and the authority of the whole legislature. There was a string of these equitable determinations in about half a dozen instances, so unwarrantable and indefensible that people grew ashamed of pretending to talk of right and wrong, laughed at that for which they ought to have blushed, and declared that in elections they never considered the cause, but the men, nor ever voted according to justice and right, but from solicitation and favour. At the same time these honest gentlemen, by an extraordinary and unaccountable casuistry, fancied, whilst they were every day defrauding people of what they had purchased with so considerable a part of their fortune, that they should have scruples about picking a pocket or robbing on the highway; and flattered themselves that a conscience which could digest the one without hesitation, would have found any argument against the other but the slightness of the temptation or the fear of the punishment.

During this session of Parliament the preliminary articles for a general peace, which had been signed some months before by the Emperor, France, England, and Holland, were agreed to by the Court of Spain. The substance of these articles was that all hostilities for the space of seven years should cease and that the traffic of the Ostend Company should be suspended for the same term; that all the articles of the Quadruple Alliance should be observed and adhered to; that all treaties relating to commerce made before the year 1725 should subsist in their full force; that the pacification of the North should be discussed at the Congress; that the English fleet should retire from before

Porto Bello and depart from the Spanish West Indies; and ¹⁷²⁸ that reparation should be made to the merchants on both sides for damages that had been done and the losses they had sustained. All further disputes and subordinate particulars were to be referred to the plenipotentiaries at the Congress, and to be adjusted there.

The Emperor's having signed these articles without the consent or privity of the Crown of Spain, caused a coolness between these two Courts, and laid the foundation of that breach which was the occasion of all others being healed. Spain, finding that the consideration of her interest, and the provisions made for her in those preliminaries, fell so much short of the hopes she had entertained and the advantages she had proposed to herself, thought her cause neglected by the Emperor, and that, his own coffers being filled beforehand by the mad liberality of a profuse Queen, he did not trouble himself much about procuring for Spain what those vast sums had been remitted to purchase and secure. These jealousies and disgusts enabled England to treat separately with these two Powers, and made them hearken to terms which, if they had continued united, in all probability they would never have listened to; but the jealousy each of these Crowns had conceived of the other's complying first, and those who stood out last being consequently left alone against all Europe, made each of these Powers as ready to accept of an accommodation as England to propose it.

The indolent, pacific, and tractable disposition of the Cardinal gave England little trouble from that quarter, and left our ministers full liberty to make what advantage they pleased of this conjuncture; which was a lucky accident for us, but no justification of those who threw us so absolutely into their power, and left the arbitration of our fortune entirely in their hands.¹

¹Hervey means that both the Emperor and the Court of Spain made overtures to France and that if Fleury had chosen he might have availed himself of them to isolate England.

1728 The Congress was at first appointed to meet at Aix-la-Chapelle, but Cardinal Fleury, desiring to have the scene of business near to him, and being unable to leave the King, fixed it at Soissons. It was to open in June. Horace Walpole, Ambassador in France, Mr. Stanhope, Vice-Chamberlain to the King, who had been Ambassador in Spain, and Mr. Poyntz, an élève of Lord Townshend's, were appointed plenipotentiaries on the part of England.

Before the King put an end to this session of Parliament he desired and insisted upon it to his ministers that they should procure him, by a vote of credit, the same mark of confidence from this House of Commons that his father had so often received from their predecessors. The ministers were not at all inclined to ask this compliment, and the Parliament as little inclined to bestow it; but, notwithstanding the reluctance both of the managers ^{say 6-7} and donors, the thing was done, as unwillingly asked and granted as it was willingly received. I cannot better illustrate the nature of the complaisant trusts reposed in the Crown by these votes of credit than by repeating what was said formerly in one of these debates by Sir Thomas Hanmer, a sensible, impracticable, honest, formal, disagreeable man, whose great merit was loving his country, and whose great weakness loving the parsons. His speeches in Parliament were always fine pieces of oratory, but never of any signification; for, as he was eloquent without persuading, he was admired without being followed, and pleased people's ears without influencing their opinions. With all his sense, what he brought himself to at last, by a wavering odd conduct, was to be neither of use to one party nor a terror to the other, and to be disliked at Court, without being beloved in the country.

What he urged against the late practice of Parliament in votes of credit was this:

"Our ancestors," said he, "had two ways of giving extraordinary sums of money to the Crown on extraordinary occasions: the one was by voting a sum certain, without an account required of the

disposal of it; the other was the giving credit to the Crown for an *1728* indefinite sum, making the Crown accountable the next year for the use that had been made of this discretionary power, and the manner in which the money had been employed. These were anciently the methods practised by our ancestors; but the modern manner of giving money to the Crown has conciliated both the inconveniences of these two ways, by neither limiting the sum given, nor examining the account of what has been expended."

This was certainly not ill said, and put the conduct of the House of Commons, with regard to that most material branch of all their power, the giving of money, in a light which any one man would have been ashamed to appear in; but when shame comes to be divided among five hundred, the portion of every individual is so small that it hurts their pride as little as it disconcerts their countenances.

As soon as the King had put an end to this session of *May 28* Parliament he went to Richmond, as he said, because it was an old acquaintance. He went afterwards to Hampton Court and Windsor, as others said, because they were new acquaintances. He would fain have persuaded both himself and other people that he loved leisure and retirement; but whenever he tried them he was always uneasy and impatient to return to a circle, and never did retire in order to convince people he liked it, without convincing himself that he did not, and that he was no more turned to live alone agreeably to himself than he was to live in company agreeably to other people.

The Congress was opened this summer at Soissons, but the cooks of the Plenipotentiaries had much more business there than their secretaries, for all the employment of these great national and regal representatives was giving and receiving visits and dinners.

It was this summer, too, that that coolness, which afterwards ended in a total breach, began to show itself between Lord Townshend and Sir Robert Walpole. It was not yet grown to such a height as to be manifest to those moles of

1728 a Court who are always drudging on in their own interested little paths without seeing what passes every day around them; but those few alert courtiers who, like cautious and skilful sailors, see every cloud as soon as it rises and watch every wind as fast as it changes, already perceived the signs of this gathering tempest, prepared for its bursting, and began to set their sails in such a manner as should enable them to shift to the gale that was most favourable, and put them in a readiness to pursue the course they were in or tack about, just as the weather should require, and to that point of the compass where sunshine was most likely to appear.

Posterity will certainly be curious to learn what extraordinary cause there could be for this rupture between two men who, joined to the alliance of brotherhood, had for thirty years together lived in an uninterrupted intimacy of the strictest friendship. But those who knew his lordship's impracticable temper would rather wonder that this union continued so long, than that it was at last dissolved. No man was ever a greater slave to his passions than Lord Townshend; few had ever less judgment to poise his passions; none ever listened less to that little they had. He was rash in his undertakings, violent in his proceedings, haughty in his carriage, brutal in his expressions, and cruel in his disposition; impatient of the least contradiction, and as slow to pardon as he was quick to resent. He was so captious that he would often take offence where nobody meant to give it; and, when he had done so, was too obstinate in such jealousies, though never so lightly founded, to see his error, and too implacable ever to forgive those against whom they were conceived. He was much more tenacious of his opinion than of his word; for the one he never gave up, and the other he seldom kept; anybody could get promises from him, but few could prevail with him to perform them. It was as difficult to make him just as to make him reasonable, and as hard to obtain anything of him as to convince him. He was blunt without

being severe, and false without being artful; for when he ¹⁷²⁸ designed to be most so, he endeavoured to temper the natural insolence of his behaviour with an affected affability, which sat so ill upon him that the insinuating grin he wore upon those occasions was more formidable than his severest frown, and would put anybody to whom he pretended friendship more upon their guard than those to whom he professed enmity.

He had been so long in business that, notwithstanding his slow, blundering capacity, he might have got through the routine of his employment if he had not thought himself as much above that part of a statesman as all mankind thought any other above him. He loved deep schemes and extensive projects, and affected to strike what is commonly called great strokes in politics—things which, considering the nature of our government, a wise minister would be as incapable of concerting, without the utmost necessity, as Lord Townshend would have been of executing them, if there was a necessity. He had been the most frequent speaker in the House of Lords for many years, and was as little improved as if there had been no room for it. Those who were most partial to him (or rather, those who pretended to be so whilst he was in power) would not deny that he talked ill, but used to say he undertalked his capacity, that his conception was much superior to his utterance, and that he made a much better figure in private deliberations than in public debates. But when he lost his interest at Court, he lost these palliatives for his dullness in the world, and people were as ready then to give up his understanding as they had formerly been to give up his oratory. He either conferred fewer obligations or met with more ingratititude than any man that ever had been so long at the top of an administration, for when he retired he went alone, and as universally unregretted as unattended. These Memoirs are such a medley that nothing can properly be called foreign to them; and for that reason I

1728 shall here insert a little epigram on Lord Townshend's disgrace:

"With such a head and such a heart,
If Fortune fails to take thy part,
And long continues thus unkind,
She must be deaf as well as blind;
And quite reversing every rule,
Nor see the knave, nor hear the fool."

I believe the first dispute between Lord Townshend and Sir Robert Walpole began upon making the Treaty of Hanover, which Sir Robert Walpole always disapproved, and would have prevented, though he was forced, when the measure was once taken, either to maintain it or break entirely with Lord Townshend, a rupture which at that time would probably have ended in his own disgrace, though in the subsequent reign it terminated in Lord Townshend's; for Sir Robert's power then subsisted as much upon Lord Townshend's superior favour at Court as Lord Townshend's success subsisted by Sir Robert's superior capacity. Sir Robert Walpole's great objection to this treaty was its throwing us so entirely into the arms of France, who naturally could never be long or cordially our friends, and its putting us so absolutely into her power if she pleased to be a dangerous enemy. Another objection to it was that it engaged us in all the expenses of a war at the same time that it put us in no possibility of expecting any of those advantages that were to be reaped from one, and kept us in all the inaction of peace without the benefit of tranquillity. Thus the real situation in which this treaty put England indisputably was declaring ourselves enemies to those Powers who might be our friends, and engaging in alliance with one that never could. It put us to all the charge necessary to defend our possessions abroad, and yet left them open to the discussion of future treaties; and was just such a degree of warfare as provoked Spain to molest us in our commerce, without going far enough to enable us to do ourselves justice by reprisals. Till the

making of this treaty Sir Robert Walpole never meddled ¹⁷²⁸ at all with foreign affairs; they were left entirely to Lord Townshend, whilst Sir Robert's province was confined solely to parliamentary and domestic concerns. But when Sir Robert found the clamour against this treaty so great at home, and the difficulties so many in which it entangled us abroad, he began to think it necessary to take some cognizance of what gave him immediately more trouble than all his own affairs put together. For though Lord Townshend only was the transactor of these peace and war negotiations, yet the labouring oar in their consequences always fell on Sir Robert; it was he was forced to stand the attacks of parliamentary inquiry into the prudence of making these treaties; it was he was to provide the means necessary to support them; on him only fell the censure of entering into them, and on him lay all the difficulty of getting out of them.

I shall not digress farther on the first heart-burnings between these two friends and brothers in the late reign, having said enough to show how unavoidable it was for Sir Robert Walpole on this occasion to disgust Lord Townshend in the two material points of not approving what had been done, and daring for the future to offer his advice in what was to be done.

Another great mortification to Lord Townshend's pride was the seeing and feeling every day that Sir Robert Walpole, who came into the world, in a manner, under his protection and inferior to him in fortune, quality, and credit, was now, by the force of his infinitely superior talents, as much above him in power, interest, weight, credit, and reputation. All application was made to him. His house was crowded like a fair with all sorts of petitioners, whilst Lord Townshend's was only frequented by the narrow set of a few relations and particular flatterers; and as Lord Townshend in the late reign had nothing but personal favour at Court to depend upon in any disputes that might arise between him and Sir Robert, he could not

1728 but grieve to find that resource in the new reign entirely taken away, the scene quite inverted, and himself as much dependent now upon Sir Robert's personal interest as Sir Robert had formerly been upon his. For as the Duchess of Kendal never loved Sir Robert Walpole, and was weak enough to admire and be fond of Lord Townshend, so in any nice points that were to be insinuated gently and carried by favour in the last reign the canal of application to the royal ear had always been from Lord Townshend to the Duchess and from the Duchess to the King; whereas now everything that passed to the present King through the Queen (who was to the son at least what the Duchess of Kendal had been to the father) was suggested by Sir Robert, and nothing pushed or received by her from any other hand.

In enumerating the seeds of Lord Townshend's disgust to Sir Robert Walpole there is another occurs to me, which, trivial as it may seem, I cannot help mentioning, because I firmly believe it was a circumstance that operated so powerfully on the weak brain and strong vanity of this great and noble Lord, that it contributed more than all the rest put together to settle these little jealousies and distastes into a fixed insurmountable aversion.

What I mean is, the great house which Sir Robert Walpole built at Houghton, in Lord Townshend's neighbourhood in Norfolk; and though it may seem to some too ridiculous and inconsiderable a mouse to have put this ministerial mountain in labour, yet those who fancy the passions of princes, the quarrels of heroes, and wrangles of great men, are not often at first stirred by as mean engines and lighted by as small sparks as the dissensions of their most obscure inferiors, must have been little conversant with such people, or conversed with them (if knowing them be the end of conversing with them) to very little purpose.

Before Sir Robert Walpole built this house (which was one of the best, though not of the largest, in England) Lord Townshend looked upon his own seat at Raynham as

the metropolis of Norfolk, was proud of the superiority, 1728 and considered every stone that augmented the splendour of Houghton as a diminution of the grandeur of Raynham. Had Sir Robert Walpole raised this fabric of fraternal discord in any other county in England, it might have escaped the envy of this wise rival; but Sir Robert's partiality to the solum natale, the scene of his youth and the abode of his ancestors, made that neighbourhood, to which the accidental commencement of his friendship with Lord Townshend was first owing, the cause also of its dissolution.

As the misunderstanding between these two ministers increased, Lord Townshend began to think of forming a separate party at Court, and attaching some particular people to himself whom he could look upon as his personal friends, who should go under the denomination of Townshend's men, and on whom he might depend in case these dissensions should come to a total breach.

Among these was Lord Trevor, then Privy Seal, and afterwards President of the Council, an able man in his way and bred to the law. He had been employed by the Tory ministry at the end of Queen Anne's reign, and was by principle (if he had any principle) a Jacobite. However, from interest and policy, he became, like his brother-convert and brother-lawyer, Lord Harcourt, as zealous a servant to the Hanover family as any of those who had never been otherwise. For as these two men were too knowing in their trade to swerve from the established principles of their profession, they acted like most lawyers, who generally look on princes like other clients, and, without any regard to right or wrong, the equity or injustice of the cause, think themselves obliged to maintain whoever fees them last and pays them best.

There was an occurrence at the latter end of this summer at Windsor relating to the court Lord Townshend then made to Lord Trevor, which I shall relate, because I think it will give a short but strong sketch both

1728 of Lord Townshend's and Sir Robert Walpole's temper; but before I begin my relation I must premise that Sir Robert Walpole at this time kept a very pretty young woman, daughter to a merchant, whose name was Skerrit, and for whom he was said to have given (besides an annual allowance) £5,000 by way of entrance-money.¹

One evening at Windsor the Queen asking Sir Robert Walpole and Lord Townshend where they had dined that day, the latter said he had dined at home with Lord and Lady Trevor; upon which Sir Robert Walpole said to Her Majesty, smiling, "My Lord, Madam, I think is grown coquet from a long widowhood, and has some design upon my Lady Trevor's virtue, for his assiduity of late in that family is grown to be so much more than common civility, that without this solution I know not how to account for it." What made this raillery of Sir Robert Walpole's very excusable and impossible to shock my Lord's prudery, let him pique himself ever so much on the chastity of his character, was that my good Lady Trevor, besides her strict life and conversation, was of the most virtuous forbidding countenance that natural ugliness, age, and small-pox ever compounded. However, Lord Townshend, affecting to take the reproach literally, and to understand

¹Miss Skerrit, though not a great heiress, was the daughter of a well-to-do London merchant, who left her £14,000. She is supposed to be the "dear Molly Skerrit" who was on intimate terms with Lady Mary Wortley Montagu in 1725, but otherwise little is known of her before she became Walpole's mistress. On the 20th August, 1737, the first Lady Walpole died, and on the 3rd March, 1738, Walpole announced his marriage to Miss Skerrit, who the same day was presented at Court and received with great marks of distinction by the King and the Princess Amelia. Egmont says that the Duchesses of Newcastle and Richmond contended earnestly for the honour of presenting her but that the office was performed by Mrs. Horace Walpole, to show that the family approved the marriage. Three months later she died of a miscarriage, leaving a daughter, born before marriage, for whom Walpole obtained a patent of precedence as an Earl's daughter on his resignation. She is described as a woman of "extreme good understanding and very agreeable." (Egmont, i. 198, and ii. 250, 431 and 469. Hare MSS. p. 238.)

what Sir Robert meant to insinuate of the political court ¹⁷²⁸ he paid to the husband as sensual designs upon the wife, with great warmth replied, "No, Sir, I am not one of those fine gentlemen who find no time of life, nor any station in the world, preservatives against follies and immoralities that are hardly excusable when youth and idleness make us most liable to such temptations. They are liberties, Sir, which I can assure you I am as far from taking as from approving; nor have I either a constitution that requires such practices, a purse that can support them, or a conscience that can digest them." Whilst he uttered these words his voice trembled, his countenance was pale, and every limb shook with passion. But Sir Robert Walpole, always master of his temper, made him no other answer than asking him with a smile, and in a very mild tone of voice, "What, my Lord, all this for my Lady Trevor?"

The Queen grew uneasy, and, to prevent Lord Townshend's replying or the thing being pushed any farther, only laughed, and began immediately to talk on some other subject.

If I am thought to be too particular in relating little circumstances of this kind, all I can say for myself is, that I have no guide to guess at what will please other people in reading these papers but what I find pleases myself best in works of the like nature; and one good authority, I am sure, I have for believing these sort of incidents are generally not disagreeable, because Machiavel, I remember, in the proem to his *History of Florence*, speaking of such little particulars, says:

"Se niuna cosa diletta o insigna nella historia, e quella che particolarmente si discrivi; se niuna lettione e utile a quelli chi governano le repubbliche, e quella che dimostra la cagioni de gli odii e delle divisioni; accioche possano, con il pericolo d' altri diventati savi, mantenersi, uniti; e se ogni esempio di repubblica muove, quelli che si leggono della propria, muovono molto più, e molto più utili."

"If there is anything in history which either delights or instructs, it is particular description. If anything be useful to those citizens who

1728 have the government of the commonwealth in their hands, it is that which represents the causes of former feuds and dissensions, that they may become wise at other people's expense and keep themselves united; and if examples from other countries make an impression on the reader, certainly those drawn from his own country must affect him much stronger and be much more useful."

The first episcopal promotions that were made in this reign were those of Dr. Hare and Dr. Sherlock to the Bishoprics of St. Asaph and Bangor. The first of these had been tutor to Sir Robert Walpole at Cambridge, title enough to any favour, promotion, or dignity, that could be conferred upon him.

But besides this accidental merit he had personal qualities sufficient to recommend him to any prince, having parts equal to any man and learning both classical and theological, not only superior to any of his brethren on the bench (for that would not be saying much), but to most of his contemporaries.

He was one of the liveliest, strongest, and clearest writers of his time, and knew so well what use to make of it that he very honestly endeavoured to write himself into power by exploding these very doctrines which he had wrote himself into reputation in his younger days by propagating. He was a sort of man that was capable of anything, in any sense of the expression, for as there was nothing that depended upon learning, art, and resolution, that he could not do, so there was nothing where power and interest was depending that he would not do.

He set out in the world a zealous Whig in the State and a heretic in the Church; but ended in the character of a monarchial high-church persecutor and would willingly have given his vote to burn anyone who preached what he once taught and still thought.

He never wrote anything without setting his name to it that anybody would not have been glad to have been thought the author of, yet never published anything with his name that anybody besides himself would have

owned; and with all the vehement outcry that he made for ¹⁷²⁸ the support of the established church and the established Government, he cared no more for King George the Second than for King James the Third and believed no more in Christ than in Mahomet.

Dr. Sherlock was a man of much the same stamp as to policy and principle, with this difference only, that he began the world with the wise notions of hereditary right and *jure divino*, annexed to the mild and honest doctrine of passive obedience in Church and State. But finding the cause of the hereditary title desperate he prudently struck in with the parliamentary one; and as he knew the throne, let who will fill it, was the strongest pillar of the Church he continued still his attachment to the King *de facto*, and contributed all in his power to the support of the Crown and the oppression of the people, concluding that whilst the Church assisted the Crown to keep the people in subjection, the Crown would reciprocally assist the Church to keep them in ignorance. He was personally well with the Queen, to whom he had oftener access in private than anyone of the clergy, the whole body of which, even before she was Queen, she had always cajoled, courted and affected to protect. Dr. Hare had the cruel, sharp, dark-lanthorn, stiletto countenance of an Italian assassin, whereas Sherlock had the bloated, swelled heavy look of an indolent church-glutton. But his look in that particular was as false as his heart and spoke what he was, as little as his lips ever spoke what he thought. He was learned and eloquent and much admired by all parties without being esteemed or depended upon by any. He was hated by the Tories for ceasing to be a Jacobite, and not loved by the Whigs because Jacobitism was the only Tory principle he had renounced.

These were the two men to whose advancement in the Church Sir Robert Walpole, if he did not contribute, at least consented. But in so doing he seemed in ecclesiastical matters to act on very different principles from those of his

1728 predecessor in power, Lord Sunderland. For as these two men were perhaps the two ablest in the whole body of the clergy, they were the last that Lord Sunderland would ever have set at the head of them. It was a maxim of his never to put power into the hands of those who knew how to use it; and one which Sir Robert Walpole seemed to steer by in temporal affairs, though he deviated from it in spiritual ones. Lord Sunderland's policy was always to keep up the power of the Church in general though never to aggrandize that of particular churchmen. For which reason he took care to stock the Bench with a parcel of mean blockheads who wanted both understanding to know their strength and resolution to exert it, if they had known it—men whose ignorance was a counterpoise to their power, and who by the ridicule and contempt that attended their private characters lost all the dignity and authority that their profession would otherwise have given them—by which means all the power they had was his proxy. It was an engine in his own hands which he could order or direct them to play whenever he stood in need of it and which he kept always dormant when he did not. He used them as skilful drivers do those stupid oxen who, not knowing their own strength, are stimulated by the goad or restrained by the rein just as he who puts the yoke about their neck thinks fit to make them advance, turn, or stop.

But notwithstanding the abilities of these two right reverend divines all court interest and ecclesiastical emoluments flowed through a third channel. It was Gibson, Bishop of London, whose opinion and recommendation alone Sir Robert Walpole took in all church politics and preferments. Sir Robert Walpole always called him his Pope and indeed used him like one by lodging in his hands as unlimited a pontifical authority as if he had really believed him infallible. The Bishop affected to conciliate in himself both characters of Whig and Tory, declaring himself always a Whig in the State and a Tory in the Church. But no man was ever more universally

disliked by both parties and indeed by all classes of ¹⁷²⁸ people, for though no man was ever more humble and more supple to those from whom he was to obtain power, no man was ever more haughty and more peremptory towards those on whom he was to exercise it. He was often called the Laud of the present times and Sir Robert Walpole often told he would repent the confidence he placed in him. He was certainly a man of parts, learning, and insinuation, and by having address enough to obtain more absolute power from the Government in the direction of all church matters than any single churchman before had ever been vested with he got the reputation of being a more dexterous manager of the clergy than any other politician of his fraternity had ever shown himself since the Revolution. He certainly had art and temper. Few people with so much pride ever had so much of the last and fewer still of his education so much of the first. But what he seemed most artful in was the making those who employed him believe that what he did was more the effect of that art than the natural consequence of the authority with which they had armed him, when indeed the good order in which the clergy was now kept was so totally owing to that cause that any man, with any common capacity, with that uncommon degree of power might have done as much. It is very true that very few of the Bishops (but two I think of the twenty-six) ever deserted the cause of the Court in the House of Lords, and that Jacobitism was less generally professed and less vehemently propagated than formerly among the inferior clergy. But as to the first, as long as translations were part of the prerogative of the Crown it was not at all surprising that every Bishop who desired to be translated should do the business of the Crown. Nor was it more to be wondered at, that the inferior clergy, whose appetites for preferment were not less keen than their cormorant superiors, should, after seventeen years' Whig administration, slacken their efforts to promote a common desperate cause which

1728 jarred so strongly with their own private and particular interest.

Besides this, the fable of Christianity, as Leo X. called it, was now so exploded in England that any man of fashion or condition would have been almost as much ashamed in company to own himself a Christian as formerly he would have been afraid to profess himself none. Even the women who prided themselves at all on their understanding took care to let people know that Christian prejudices were what they despised being bound by. Many of the best writers of the age had indeed written so forcibly and so openly against this system of religion that it was not surprising they gained so many converts, especially when those whose trade and interest it was to write against them defended Christianity so ill that they left its ramparts to be guarded by some miserable subalterns, who having a zeal, but not according to knowledge, suffered breaches to be made every day unrepaired in the very foundations of the wall, whilst others, who could have made a better fight, instead of endeavouring to refute their opponents by argument, produced nothing in answer to these new doctrines but invectives against the authors of them, and called for the secular arm in civil process to punish the publication of truth, to which the most learned and most able ought to have been employed to reply.

But in the same degree that the credit of the clergy and the profession of churchman decreased they found it necessary to apply to the Government to keep up their authority in order to prevent the decline of the one keeping pace with the decay of the other; and whilst they used their power in favour of the Government it was indeed the interest of the Government to support it. By the inducement of reciprocal advantages, therefore, the clergy and the Administration stuck by one another, and several things attempted in Parliament to correct the abuses of church power and put the ecclesiastical courts under

better regulation were, from this principle in the administration of defending right or wrong those who served them, either crushed in their projection or defeated in their progress. 1728

Having given this short account of the public state of the Church, I must now relate the particulars of a more private affair that passed at Court in the first year after His Majesty's accession to the throne. Mr. Howard, having a mind to turn his reputed cuckoldom to the best account, began to give his wife fresh trouble, and in order to make her pay for staying abroad pretended an inclination to have her return home. After, therefore, he had notified his pleasure to her by a summons forthwith to repair to her conjugal habitation, upon her disobedience to this amicable invitation he took out my Lord Chief Justice's warrant to seize her wherever he found her. This step so alarmed Mrs. Howard, who feared nothing so much as falling again into his hands, that for many months she was confined to the narrow limits of the walls of St. James's House, from whence she did not dare to stir one moment or one inch.

Her situation at this juncture was certainly a very odd one and the part she had to act equally extraordinary, difficult, and disagreeable. A husband ordered her home who did not desire to have her there, and a lover was to retain her who seemed already tired of keeping her. On the one side therefore she had authority to combat, and on the other indifference. She was to persuade a man who had power to torment her not to exert it, though it was his greatest pleasure; and to prevail with another who loved money and cared but little for her to part with what he did like in order to keep what he did not.

What was more extraordinary still on this occasion was that the power of her rival, instead of being exerted to disjoin her from her lover, was all employed in contriving means to prevent their separation, Her Majesty very prudently considering that she had nothing to fear from

1728 one she had already conquered; that Mrs. Howard's apartment, if she was banished, would not be long empty; and that a new tenant would expose Her Majesty to all these dangers which she had already gone through and surmounted in the time of the old one.

This being the case, a negotiation was set on foot to accommodate matters between Mr. and Mrs. Howard, and upon her obliging herself to pay her husband £1,200 a year during the life of his brother, the Earl of Suffolk (to whom he was next heir), he signed articles on his side by which he bound himself for the future to give her as little trouble in the capacity of a husband as he had ever done pleasure. And so this affair ended, the King paying the £1,200 a year for the possession of what he did not enjoy, and Mr. Howard receiving them for relinquishing what he would have been sorry to keep.

Jan. 21 When the Parliament met this year the affairs of Europe were as unsettled as ever, so that the same complaints were continued by the Opposition, and the same defence made by the Administration; that is, the opponents and malcontents complained that our peace was imperfect, and the ministers insisted that the most imperfect peace was better than a certain war. The complaints of the merchants, however, upon the interruption they everywhere met with in their trade, and particularly upon the depredations of the Spaniards in the West Indies, were so loud and so numerous, that it was impossible for the ministers to prevent them stating their grievances to the Parliament and asking that redress from them which they had in vain solicited at Court.

The ministers and their party in Parliament were imprudent enough, when the affair came to be examined there, to seem to take the part of the Spaniards against our own merchants, and to endeavour to soften the injustice of the one and to lessen the losses of the other. This conduct was very unpopular without doors, but the ministers carried their point within, and prevented the

Parliament from coming to any vigorous resolutions of 1729 ordering reprisals, or from doing anything more than making a general address to the King to recommend the merchants and the trade of his kingdom to his care and protection.

It was in this winter, just before the Parliament met, that the King was prevailed upon to send for his son from Hanover. His ministers told him that if the Prince's coming was longer delayed an address from Parliament and the voice of the whole nation would certainly oblige His Majesty to send for him and consequently that he would be necessitated to do that with an ill grace which he might now do with a good one. These persuasions prevailed and the King, as children take physic, forced himself to swallow this bitter draught for fear of having it poured down his throat in case he did not take it quietly and voluntarily.

When first the Prince came over he was in great favour *Dec. 1728* with his father, but it lasted not long. The King was pleased with him as a new thing, felt him quite in his power, contemned him as a rival, made him no great expense, and looked upon his being here with so little court paid to him as an escape from a danger which he had dreaded, and yet was obliged to expose himself to. Sir Robert Walpole told me one day that the King, speaking to him of his son soon after his arrival, said with an air of contempt and satisfaction: "I think this is not a son I need be much afraid of." But this relation I look upon as apocryphal and give it as such.

The allowance the King made him was two thousand pounds a month, which, with the income of the Duchy of Cornwall, came to about three or four and thirty thousand pounds a year. The opponents, who had a mind to get him, began their attack by telling him how ill his father used him in giving him this short allowance only instead of £100,000, which his father had had when he was Prince of Wales and which was understood by the Parliament, when the Civil List was settled at the

1729 beginning of this reign, to be designed now for His Royal Highness.

The Prince on this occasion, as on all like occasions afterward, between anger and timidity went just such lengths with those who were against the Court as served to irritate his father and not far enough to attach them to his service. Lord Essex was the man through whom the opponents applied to the Prince. A man with some insinuation, but little prudence, and no judgment, he was equally singular both in his person and understanding, for without one good feature and with a very ill made body he was not a disagreeable figure, and without wit, knowledge, or tolerable good breeding, far from an unentertaining companion. He had humour, was constantly cheerful, and by talking a good deal of bawdy, made the King laugh and gained as much of his affection as His Majesty's unaffectionate disposition ever allowed to anybody about him.

Lord Essex was at this time a scarce-disguised enemy to Sir Robert Walpole, though Sir Robert afterward found means to gain him. He had had a long personal and intimate friendship with Pulteney and was so linked with Lord Bolingbroke that the whole management of Lord Essex's shattered fortune was in Lord Bolingbroke's hands and his affairs by that management put into good order and retrieved. It was by the advice of these two men that Lord Essex made his court so much to the Prince at his first arrival here. The Ministers soon took umbrage at this correspondence and, by their instigation, soon after the King, who immediately grew cool to Lord Essex, and in a little time so angry that he did not speak to him in two months.

Lord Essex found it impossible to serve God and Mammon, and therefore pressed the Prince to know whether he would stand by him or not, and in case he was dismissed the King's service whether the Prince would make him his Master of the Horse instead of Lord Malpas who was at present in that office. The Prince boggled at

this proposal, and Lord Essex upon seeing this irresolution made up with the King and quitted the Prince, whom he despised, abused, and hated ever after, and from whom he received the like amicable distinctions. 1729

The Prince's character at his first coming over, though little more respectable, seemed much more amiable than it was upon his opening himself and being better known. For though there appeared nothing in him to be admired, yet there seemed nothing in him to be hated—neither nothing great nor nothing vicious. His behaviour was something that gained one's good wishes, though it gave one no esteem for him. For his best qualities, whilst they prepossessed one the most in his favour, always gave one a degree of contempt for him at the same time, his carriage, whilst it seemed engaging to those who did not examine it, appearing mean to those who did; for though his manners had the show of benevolence from a good deal of natural or habitual civility, yet his cajoling everybody, and almost in an equal degree, made those things which might have been thought favours, if more judiciously or sparingly bestowed, lose all their weight. He carried this affectation of general benevolence so far that he often condescended below the character of a Prince, and as people attributed this familiarity to popular and not particular motives, so it only lessened their respect without increasing their good will, and instead of giving them good impressions of his humanity, only gave them ill ones of his sincerity. He was indeed as false as his capacity would allow him to be, and was more capable in that walk than in any other, never having the least hesitation, from principle or fear of future detection, in telling any lie that served his present purpose. He had a much weaker understanding, and, if possible, a more obstinate temper, than his father; that is, more tenacious of opinions he had once formed, though less capable of ever having right ones. Had he had one grain of merit at the bottom of his heart, one should have had compassion for him in the situation to which his miserable

1729 poor head soon reduced him, for his case, in short, was this: he had a father that abhorred him, a mother that despised and neglected him, a sister that betrayed him, a brother set up to pique, and a set of servants that neither were of use to him, nor were capable of being of use to him, nor desirous of being so.

Among the remarkable occurrences of this winter I cannot help relating that of the Duchess of Queensberry being forbid the Court, and the occasion of it. One Gay, a poet, had written a ballad opera, which was thought to reflect a little upon the Court, and a good deal upon the Minister. It was called *The Beggars' Opera*, had a prodigious run, and was so extremely pretty in its kind, that even those who were most glanced at in the satire had prudence enough to disguise their resentment by chiming in with the universal applause with which it was performed. Gay, who had attached himself to Mrs. Howard and been disappointed of preferment at Court, finding this couched satire upon those to whom he imputed his disappointment succeed so well, wrote a second part to this opera,¹ less pretty, but more abusive, and so little disguised, that Sir Robert Walpole resolved, rather than suffer himself to be produced for thirty nights together upon the stage in the person of a highwayman, to make use of his friend the Duke of Grafton's authority as Lord Chamberlain to put a stop to the representation of it. Accordingly this theatrical Craftsman was prohibited at every playhouse. Gay, irritated at this bar thrown in the way both of his interest and his revenge, zested the work with some supplemental invectives, and resolved to print it by subscription. The Duchess of Queensberry set herself at the head of this undertaking, and solicited every mortal that came in her way, or in whose way she could put herself, to subscribe. To a woman of her quality, proverbially beautiful, and at the top of the polite and fashionable world, people were ashamed to refuse a guinea, though they were afraid to

¹*Polly.*

give it. Her solicitations were so universal and so pressing, 1729 that she came even into the Queen's apartment, went round the drawing-room, and made even the King's servants contribute to the printing of a thing which the King had forbid being recited. The King, when he came into the drawing-room, seeing her Grace very busy in a corner with three or four men, asked her what she had been doing. She answered, what must be agreeable, she was sure, to anybody so humane as His Majesty, for it was an act of charity, and a charity to which she did not despair of bringing His Majesty to contribute. Enough was said for each to understand the other, and though the King did not then (as the Duchess of Queensberry reported) appear at all angry, yet this proceeding of her Grace's, when talked over in private between His Majesty and the Queen, was so resented, that Mr. Stanhope, then Vice-Chamberlain to the King, was sent in form to the Duchess of Queensberry to desire her to forbear coming to Court. His message was verbal. Her answer, for fear of mistakes, she desired to send in writing, wrote it on the spot, and this is the literal copy:

"Feb. 27, 1728-9.

"That the Duchess of Queensberry is surprised and well pleased that the King hath given her so agreeable a command as to stay from Court, where she never came for diversion, but to bestow a great civility on the King and Queen; she hopes by such an unprecedented order as this is, that the King will see as few as he wishes at his Court, particularly such as dare to think or speak truth. I dare not do otherwise, and ought not nor could have imagined that it would not have been the very highest compliment that I could possibly pay the King to endeavour to support truth and innocence in his house, particularly when the King and Queen both told me that they had not read Mr. Gay's play. I have certainly done right, then, to stand by my own words rather than his Grace of Grafton's, who hath neither made use of truth, judgment, nor honour, through this whole affair, either for himself or his friends.

"C. QUEENSBERRY."

1729 When her Grace had finished this paper, drawn with more spirit than accuracy, she gave it to Mr. Stanhope, who desired her to think again, asked pardon for being so impertinent as to offer her any advice, but begged she would give him leave to carry an answer less rough than that she had put into his hands. Upon this she wrote another, but so much more disrespectful, that he desired the first again and delivered it.

Most people blamed the Court upon this occasion. What the Duchess of Queensberry did was certainly impertinent; but the manner of resenting it was thought impolitic. The Duke of Queensberry laid down his employment of Admiral of Scotland upon it, though very much and very kindly pressed by the King to remain in his service.

This employment some time after was given to Lord Stair upon his writing the most submissive and supplicating letter to Sir Robert Walpole, setting forth the convenience it would be to his distressed, broken fortune, desiring Sir Robert's good nature to draw a veil over all that was past, and giving the strongest assurances of his future good behaviour.

April 23 Towards the end of this session of Parliament was made that most unpopular and famous demand of the £115,000, to make good the pretended deficiency in the Civil List funds, which, by an unfair way of calculating and stating the accounts, as well as a forced construction of the Act of Parliament, were said to have fallen so much short of £800,000 a year, designed at all hazards to be secured to His Majesty when the Civil List was settled.

The truth of the matter was that in the first place there was not the deficiency, and in the next, if there had been, it was doubtful by the wording of the Act whether the Parliament was obliged to make it up, and whether these funds had not been given to the King at his own desire in the beginning of his reign, not as a sum certain, but for

better for worse, for more or for less. Sir Robert Walpole ¹⁷²⁹ always denied the having advised this demand, and scrupled not to excuse himself to his friends by saying he had opposed it so long and so strenuously, that the King had intimated to him, if he could not or would not do it, His Majesty would find those who were both able and willing. Sir Robert Walpole always said it was Lord Wilmington who had put the King upon this measure, with the double view of making his own court and prejudicing Sir Robert Walpole; his Lordship knowing that he should have the merit to the King of forming this project, and Sir Robert the demerit first of opposing it, and then all the trouble and unpopularity of bringing it to bear. But this conjecture, I believe, was doing Lord Wilmington's dexterity too much honour; his views were never so extended or so complicated; they were generally more simple, and his reasoning, I dare say, went no farther than this: "The King loves money, and will love me if I tell him how he may get some." In short, got it was, but with great difficulty and great clamour, no one body who voted for it thinking it a proper grant or a reasonable demand.

His Royal Highness, who began to hate his father very heartily and not very secretly, was extremely flippant in his comments on this measure, and, though he would have done the same thing in the same situation, pretended to disapprove entirely his father's conduct on this occasion; by which means he contrived to be doubly in the wrong, in the first place, for saying what he ought only to have thought, and, in the next, for not thinking what he ought not to have said.

The end of this session was remarkable only for one change, which was Sir Paul Methuen's quitting the employment of Treasurer of the Household. His pretence for quitting was disliking the conduct of the Court in general; but his true reason was his disapprobation, not of any actual sin, but their sin of omission in not making

1729 him Secretary of State, an employment he had once unaccountably in the late reign obtained, and quitted when Lord Townshend and Sir Robert Walpole were disgraced. The character of this man was a very singular one. It was a mixture of Spanish formality and English roughness, strongly seasoned with pride, and not untinctured with honour. He was romantic in his turn to the highest degree of absurdity; odd, impracticable, passionate, and obstinate; a thorough coxcomb, and a little mad. As to the affair of party, he called himself always a Whig. After he had quitted he went too often to Court to be well with the Opposition, and too seldom to Parliament to be well with either side, a conduct which procured him the agreeable mixed character of courtier without profit, and a country gentleman without popularity.

May 17 This summer the King went to Hanover for the first time, to take possession there and settle his affairs. He left the Queen Regent, which his son took extremely ill. Lord Townshend went with the King to Hanover and gained a little ground there, which he soon lost again at his return, Sir Robert Walpole and he being irreconcilable, and the first trying to support himself by the Queen, the other by the King.

It was said, but not truly, though generally believed, that the Queen's powers as Regent were abridged by orders sent from the King as soon as he got into Holland, at the instigation of Lord Townshend.

Whilst the King was at Hanover he had several little German disputes with his brother of Prussia, the particulars of which being about a few cart-loads of hay, a mill, and some soldiers improperly enlisted by the King of Prussia in the Hanoverian state, I do not think them worthy of being considered in detail; and shall say nothing further about these squabbles than that, first or last, both of them contrived to be in the wrong. And as these two princes had some similar impracticabilities in their temper, so they were too much alike ever to agree, and from this

time forward hated one another with equal imprudence, 1729 inveteracy, and openness.

It was reported, and I believe not without foundation, that our monarch on this occasion sent or would have sent a challenge of single combat to His Prussian Majesty; but whether it was carried and rejected, or whether the prayers and remonstrances of Lord Townshend prevented the gauntlet being actually thrown down, is a point which to me at least has never been cleared.

There was another subject of dispute between the Kings of England and Prussia which I forgot to enumerate, though it was the only one really of consequence, and that was with regard to the affairs of Mecklenburg. The short statement of their differences on this article was whether the Prussian or Hanoverian troops (both ordered into Mecklenburg by a decree of the Aulic Council) should have the greatest share (under the pretence of keeping peace) in plundering the people and completing the ruin of that miserable duchy, already reduced to such a state of calamity by the tyrannical conduct of their most abominable, deposed, or rather suspended duke.

Just after the King's return from Hanover, Lord ^{Sept. 11} Hervey, after having been abroad a year and a half for his health, returned from Italy. He loved Mr. Pulteney, and had obligations to Sir Robert Walpole. He lived in long intimacy and personal friendship with the former, and in his public and political conduct he always attached himself to the latter. But as the dissensions of these two men were now grown to such a height that it was impossible for anybody to live well with both, Lord Hervey at his return found he should be brought to the long feared disagreeable necessity of quitting the one or the other.

His wife loved Mr. Pulteney and hated Sir Robert Walpole. Sir Robert had formerly made love to her, but unsuccessfully, which had produced the mutual enmity

1729 generally consequential on such circumstances, love in these cases being like a ball, which the greater strength it comes with, if it meets with resistance the farther it rebounds back from the point at which it was aimed. Sir Robert Walpole, therefore, detested Lady Hervey and Lady Hervey him, so that all her interest in her husband was employed to draw him off from Sir Robert Walpole and attach himself to Mr. Pulteney. And as she knew her husband's affection to Mr. Pulteney, she was sensible nothing but the weight of interest could turn the scale in this contest on the side of Sir Robert Walpole.

In order, therefore, to lighten the balance of interest, or rather to counterbalance it, Pulteney and she together had formed a scheme, before Lord Hervey came over, to induce Lord Bristol to make his son such an allowance as should indemnify him for throwing up a pension of £1,000 a year, which he now received from the Court.

This project, by the joint endeavours of Pulteney and the dowager Duchess of Marlborough, who would have done anything to make an apostate from the Court, and had great influence over Lord Bristol,¹ so far took effect, that Lord Bristol promised, in case Lord Hervey would act the same opposing part in the House of Commons that he did in the House of Lords and throw up his pension, he would immediately settle £600 a year upon him for life.

If Lord Hervey acted openly, honestly, and fairly, he ought to have said to Pulteney as soon as he came over: "Prosecute this scheme no further, for as I received £1,000 a year from the Court when I was able to do them no service for it in present, and unlikely to live to be of any use to them hereafter, it is impossible for me as soon as I have got health to fly in the face of those who lent me the means to seek and acquire it." This would have been unanswerable and have put him in the right.

But instead of this Lord Hervey, fearing to anger Mr. Pulteney, and depending upon the ungiving temper

¹He owed to her his elevation to the peerage in 1703.

of his father, very unjustifiably put his non-compliance ¹⁷²⁹ with these overtures upon quite another foot; said he was sure his father would never make him easy in the point of money, that his family was too great for him not to consider that point; and therefore desired Mr. Pulteney not to give himself any more trouble in this business, since he was sure it would prove ineffectual.

Pulteney, imagining from this that Lord Hervey's difficulty only lay in the uncertainty of Lord Bristol's being brought to comply with this settlement upon him, redoubled his efforts to bring the father to make this offer and the son to accept it.

The further particulars of a conversation between Mr. Pulteney and Lord Hervey on this subject being of use to show in what language the oracles of the Opposition at this time talked to their votaries and with what hopes they fed them, I shall here relate all the arguments Pulteney urged to induce Lord Hervey to quit the administration, which he assured him could not possibly subsist six months longer.

"Their affairs abroad," said he, "go so ill that the Ministers know not which way to turn themselves; they are afraid to make war and unable to make peace. Then the quarrel between Lord Townshend and Sir Robert Walpole has so shattered their strength at home by the subdivision of the before divided Whig party that their mutual endeavours to ruin each other must end in the ruin of both. The Queen is hated, the King despised, their son both the one and the other, and such a spirit of disaffection to the family and general discontent with the present Government is spread all over the Kingdom, that it is absolutely impossible for things to go on in the track they are now in."

"But in what track," said Lord Hervey, "do the malcontents propose to put the Government? Will they only stir it as people do a fire, to raise a flame, make a blaze and alter the present position without any design but to

1729 alter it, and let it take its chance for the form in which it will afterwards fall?"

"Some, perhaps," replied Mr. Pulteney, "may have sanguine views of a parliamentary popular Government; others perhaps of changing the King only, and putting a new one under new restrictions."

"But who is that King to be? Not the Pretender I hope?"

"Why the little Duke or anybody but this puppy, this huffing military jackanapes of a king, or the timid, poor, mean, weak wretch, his son, the Prince of Wales. In short, people will bear no longer to be governed in the insolent silly manner they are at present, and you will very soon in the session hear many declare themselves in a manner that will surprise you."

"As how?" interrupted Lord Hervey.

"Why twenty or thirty gentlemen of the first consideration will get up one after another and declare the Act of Settlement broken by the continuation of the Hessian troops in the English pay for the defence of Hanover."

"The first who does so," said Lord Hervey, "will infallibly be sent to the Tower, which I believe will cool the courage of all the rest. Besides the assertion cannot be made out, in the first place because it will be said that these troops are retained in consequence of a treaty with the Dutch by which England is bound to have 12,000 men ready on the other side the water for their defence in case they shall be attacked; and in the next place, supposing the Hessians to be kept up for the sake of the Hanover dominions, it would be no breach of the Act of Settlement because it is done with the consent of Parliament and the Act of Settlement only says that England shall be engaged in no quarrel or expenses on account of the King's foreign possessions without consent of Parliament."

"This affair will take a very different turn in Parliament," replied Mr. Pulteney, "from what you imagine. The people are so ripe for insurrection that the smallest spark will put them in a flame, and the nation in general

is so universally irritated against the Government for 1729 loading them with this vast unnecessary and ridiculous expense of the Hessians that nothing said for them will be heard, and everything said against them will be believed. Besides this, the monstrous expense at which we have annually been of late neither to make war nor secure peace; the unpopularity of our standing army at home besides that abroad; the state of Dunkirk and Gibraltar, the melancholy decay of domestic trade, the losses sustained by our merchants in the Indies, the insults offered there to them by the Spaniards, the cruelties exercised upon them and the injuries they sustained unrevenged; the loss of our fleet and so many brave seamen before Porto Bello under Admiral Hosier, who was sent thither with his hands tied up and was forced to suffer the galleons to pass under his nose unmolested; these things, together with the ridicules of our vast chargeable pacific useless ridiculous fleet at Spithead, are things which, when they come to be discussed in Parliament, will have such an effect there, and consequently on the minds of all England, that, as stout as our shitten monarch pretends to be, you will find we shall force him to truckle and make his great fat-arsed wife stink with fear before we have done with her. We shall make her give up her minion and him his myrmidon or I am much mistaken."

Pulteney in the violent passion into which he had worked himself threw out a great deal more of this coarse invective and rambling extravagance, to which Lord Hervey made little or no answer, and the conversation at last was broke off by company coming into the room.

The judgment Lord Hervey formed from these representations of the present situation of affairs was this; that the measures of the Ministers were extremely distressed and those of their opponents very ill concerted. However, he resolved to abide by the first. Sir Robert Walpole's behaviour to his wife he resolved not to know, in great points being always determined to let nothing interfere

1729 with what he thought just, and in little matters to suffer few checks to his pleasures. These two keys will serve to account for all his actions, prudent and imprudent. Sir Robert Walpole, Pulteney told him, was false, loved nobody, would never suffer any man that had parts to rise or make any figure under him, and assured Lord Hervey on the other hand if ever he himself came into power there was nothing Lord Hervey could ask or wish that should not be done for him.

When Lord Bristol consented to the settlement of £600 a year Lord Hervey was at last forced to say with an ill grace what he might at first have said with a good one, and did that with the air of a mean shuffle and double dealing, which he might have done with openness and reputation; which was throwing up his pension and yet acting on with those who had procured it for him. The fault he committed on this occasion was one which little geniuses and young politicians are very apt to fall into from thinking it as possible for those who act an under part to avoid being explicit as it is for those who act the highest, and that people who are to bestow favours are as easily put off with indirect answers as those who are to receive them, which for two plain reasons is impossible. In the first place because a Minister only answers for what he can do, the adherent for what he will do. And in the next place it is the interest of a solicitor to power to pretend to be deceived, because it is his interest not to break off his solicitation, and to make even the false profession he has received a pretence to renew it; whereas it is the interest of power to catch at any indirect dealing or shuffling conduct in a solicitor to justify either a denial or a delay in granting what is asked. How useful soever therefore trimming and balancing may be in those who govern, it is very bad policy in those who serve, as dependents are often glad to compound for hopes, whereas those who want to make dependents will be satisfied with nothing but a certainty, people below you being to be

gained by hopes, but people above you will be at a ~~1729~~
certainty.

The letter Lord Hervey wrote to Sir Robert Walpole when he threw up his pension was as follows:

REDLYNCH,¹ 5th November, 1729.

SIR,

I dare say you will not be surprised when I tell you that the particulars of the last conversation you honoured me with have employed my thoughts many times since I have been in the country, and as you were then pleased to express so warm and friendly a regard for my interest I hope you will forgive my troubling you on a subject which I think so nearly concerns it.

You know the situation of my affairs and my opinion so well, that it is unnecessary for me to say, notwithstanding the King's favour must be very convenient to me in one sense, yet the receiving no mark of it but in the manner I have formerly done is what I must decline.

All I have at present therefore, Sir, to beg of you is, that you would have the goodness to assure the King of the gratitude with which I think of his goodness towards me; that I received what he bestowed upon me with double satisfaction, as I imagined it an earnest (in case I lived) of some future mark of his distinction, and was not insensible to that part of the obligation of its being conferred at a time when I was incapable of deserving it by any present services, and so unlikely to repay it by any future ones. But as I am now capable of attending in Parliament, and that those who either speak or vote there under my circumstances are exposed to disagreeable insinuations and reflections upon one's conduct from malicious and envious blockheads, who perhaps could find no other answer to one's arguments, so I must entreat the King, whenever he shall think proper, to consider me in some manner which I shall not be ashamed to own, and in the mean time to give me leave to serve him without those inducements that must take off the merit of those little services towards him, that make them liable to be misconstrued by the rest of the world, and consequently less cheerfully performed by myself.

I know the King's reception of this message will depend so entirely on the person who conveys it, and the manner of its being represented, that I feel a security (from the repeated marks and professions of your friendship for me) in its going through your hands, which no other method of delivering it could give me.

¹Stephen Fox's place in Somerset.

1729 I am persuaded you will assure him (notwithstanding what is reported) that my taking this step proceeds from no ill humour, distaste, or coolness to his service, and that my future conduct will be a proof how ill such reports are founded.

I am convinced, too, that you think what I am doing right, as it will set my character in a better light towards him and towards the world, as it will exempt my conduct from all impertinent reflections upon it, set my own mind more at ease, and permit me on all occasions with less constraint to show myself,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient, etc.

HERVEY.

This letter was far from pleasing either Sir Robert or Mr. Pulteney. The first looked upon it as a gentle preface to forsaking his service, the other as a bond for continuing in it, especially as Lord Hervey, at the same time he told Mr. Pulteney of this letter, thanked him for the trouble he had given himself in the negotiation with his father, but said the same desire of being at his liberty that had made him throw up his pension, must prevent, too, his acceptance of his father's allowance, since the conditions were his immediately opposing the measures of the Court in Parliament.

From this time the friendship between Lord Hervey and Mr. Pulteney began to cool, and soon after turned into the other extreme; but Lord Hervey, on his return out of the country, finding Sir Robert Walpole, upon the step he had taken, suspected his defection, assured him he would take the first opportunity on the meeting of the Parliament publicly to demonstrate himself as much attached to his interest as ever.

Before the Parliament met Sir Robert Walpole had the skill to contrive and the good fortune to conclude a treaty with Spain, which extremely facilitated the business of the Court this year in Parliament, strengthened the power and credit of Sir Robert both in the one and the other, and revived the spirits of all his friends, followers, and adherents.

This treaty, called the Treaty of Seville (from the Court ¹⁷²⁹ of Spain residing there when it was made), was negotiated by Mr. Vice-Chamberlain Stanhope, then Ambassador and Plenipotentiary in Spain from this Court, and concluded November 8, n.s. 1729. The plan of this treaty was Sir Robert Walpole's and the substance of it absolute peace between the three Crowns of France, Spain, and England, reciprocal guarantee of their respective possessions, all former treaties of commerce to be again in force, mutual reparations to be made to the merchants of Spain and England for captures, seizures, injuries, depredations, etc., and this account to be settled within the space of three years by commissioners appointed for that purpose. But the principal article that induced the Court of Spain to come into this treaty was the exchanging the six thousand neutral troops who, by the Quadruple Alliance, were to secure the eventual succession of Don Carlos to the states of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, into six thousand Spaniards who were forthwith to be introduced into Italy to garrison Leghorn, Porto-ferraio, Parma, and Placentia, in the same manner that by the Quadruple Alliance these places were to be garrisoned by the neutral Swiss troops.

Immediately upon the conclusion of this treaty the standing forces in England were reduced above five thousand men, but not in the manner that gave satisfaction any more than the number; the latter not being thought sufficient, and no corps being broken, but the whole reduction made by lessening the number of private men in different regiments.

However, the treaty and the reduction were both mightily bragged of by the Court party and even from the Throne itself at the opening of the subsequent Session; ^{Jan. 13, 1730} and notwithstanding the various objections made to this treaty, considering all things, it was certainly a very advantageous treaty for England, as it revived our declining trade, put a stop to all the inconveniences complained

1730 of in the West Indies, and an end to all pretensions to Gibraltar, notwithstanding that place was only virtually included and not specifically mentioned in the treaty. Nor indeed would it have been possible to have obtained this peace with Spain had it not been for the Queen of Spain's having nothing at heart but the security of her son's succession in Italy, and being ready to grant any terms provided England and France would consent immediately to the introduction of the Spanish troops. She saw all her golden dreams of grandeur from the Vienna Treaty vanished, was exasperated to the last degree at the shuffling conduct of the Emperor, and resolved therefore, if possible, to secure the only thing which she found was now attainable for her son.

When this treaty came under consideration in Parliament it was objected, first, that this exchange of neutral for Spanish troops was an absolute violation of the Quadruple Alliance, and so derogatory to the honour and interest of the Emperor that it was impossible for him ever to acquiesce under it, and consequently that this boasted peace was nothing more than the herald of a war.

In the next place it was said that sufficient care had not been taken of the merchants, and that the quiet possession of Gibraltar was not fully secured for want of a specific resignation of it in the treaty.

To the first of these objections it was answered that the variation from the Quadruple Alliance was only more effectually to secure that to Don Carlos which was designed for him by the Quadruple Alliance; consequently, that this treaty was conformable to the spirit if not to the letter of the other, that it would prevent the further suspension of the execution of that article of the Quadruple Alliance which had been so many years, unjustly to Spain, delayed by the Emperor, that it would save England the third part of the expense of the neutral troops which, by the former treaty, she was bound to bear, and that as for the Emperor's refusing to acquiesce under

this disposition, all the great Powers in Europe resolving ¹⁷³⁰ to execute it, the Emperor must know his opposition to it would be vain, consequently, he would certainly not think of making any. It was further said that as all treaties must be founded on reciprocal advantages to the contracting parties, so it was not to be imagined Spain, out of mere love to England, would renounce her pretensions to Gibraltar, restore us the long interrupted advantages of our commerce, and promise reparation for the losses of our merchants, without some benefit proposed to herself in return; and as that benefit was nothing more than the confirmation of that which she had already a right to, the King of England must have been very ill-advised if he had demurred one moment upon the acceptance of those conditions.

To the objection that sufficient care had not been taken of the merchants, it was answered that all the care was taken that the nature of such a transaction would admit, that the accounts of the losses were to be stated, the adjustment of them to be referred to commissaries, and that it would have been the highest imprudence to have deferred the signing of this treaty and deprived ourselves of all the intermediate advantages of it till this affair could have been terminated, which everybody knows must be a work of time.

As to Gibraltar, it was said that though Gibraltar was not particularly named, yet there could not be the least room to dispute its being included in this treaty; and if there was any little delicacy in the Spanish Court from a point of honour, that might make them shy of naming it, yet if England could effectually and securely get the thing she wanted, sure it would not be very justifiable to have refused it, merely on a cavil upon the words by which it was granted and consigned.

Upon the whole, after many proposals made in the House of Lords to cast censure on the Treaty of Seville, which were all rejected, it was voted beneficial, safe, and

1730 honourable. In the House of Commons, though often incidentally mentioned, no vote ever passed in its favour or condemnation.

There was another thing strongly urged for the honour of the King in making this treaty, and in contradiction to the insinuations frequently made of his acting on all occasions more as Elector of Hanover than King of England; and this was that when, by the division of the Courts of Vienna and Spain, it was in the King's power to come to accommodation with which of the two he pleased, it was very evident that he chose to make up with the Power whose friendship was most beneficial to England, and as evident that if he had considered himself as Elector of Hanover only, he would certainly have made his first overtures of reconciliation to the Emperor, and not have taken a step to irritate him further.

Feb. 4 When the debate of the Hessians came on, everything Pulteney had said to Lord Hervey was insinuated, but much more gently than he had suggested and most people expected. The arguments against these troops were the great expense of them, their being unnecessary if the Treaty of Seville was so advantageous as its advocates represented, and, if kept up for the defence of Hanover, a violation of the Act of Settlement.

In answer to these arguments the expense was admitted, but the question said to be not what the expense was, but whether necessary or not, and that the Emperor's not having yet agreed to the Treaty of Seville did make it necessary; that these troops being kept up by the consent of Parliament obviated the objection of their being maintained in contravention of the Act of Settlement, even though it were allowed that their only use was to defend the Hanover dominions. This proved the legality of continuing them in our pay for that purpose; and as for the equity of it, though nobody would wish England engaged in a war for the sake of Hanover, yet if Hanover was attacked for the sake of England, no Englishman with

honour or common justice would desire to see Hanover ¹⁷³⁰ in that case abandoned and unsuccoured by those on whose account it was attacked. That this had been the sense of a former Parliament, a vote having been passed to assure the late King that if reprisals were attempted to be made on His Majesty as Elector of Hanover, for the steps he had taken as King of England, the Parliament would take care as vigorously to defend that country, in such a case, as their own.

It was further urged for the continuance of these 12,000 Hessians, that there could be nothing more contradictory to what had been advanced concerning the Treaty of Seville being productive of a war than the advice now given by the same people to disband the Hessians; since if any disturbance was expected to be given by the Emperor, these troops were absolutely necessary to prevent any such design taking effect. Whether, therefore, he intended to make any diversion in the North to prevent the execution of the Treaty of Seville in Italy, or whether he might give the Dutch any trouble in resentment for their acceding to it, the Hessians must be the principal check upon him in one case, and what the Dutch had to depend upon in the other.

It was, therefore, asserted by those who spoke for the Court to be not only for the honour of England to continue those troops, as it enabled the King to fulfil his engagements with his allies, but that it was also right in an interested prudential light, as it might deter the Court of Vienna from entering into measures to defeat the hopes of a general pacification, and spare the future expense which an ill-timed economy at this critical juncture might afterwards draw upon us.

The debate lasted till ten o'clock, and the question was at last carried for the Court by a great majority.¹

In a few days after this debate Sir William Wyndham moved the House to appoint a day to consider the state of

¹248 to 169. Hervey spoke in support of the Government.

1730 the nation, which could not be refused by the Court party, though they would have been very glad to avoid it, scrutinies, examinations, and siftings seldom turning to the account of those who have the reins of power and the care of the public in their hands.

Feb. 10 When the day came the ministry were totally ignorant in what quarter and on what point they should be attacked; but concluded it would either be on the Treaty of Seville, the national debt, or the complaints of the merchants. To their great surprise it proved to be upon the state of Dunkirk, which harbour was proved by many witnesses at the bar of the House to be so well repaired that ships of burden, contrary to the Treaty of Utrecht, could go in and out with the same ease as before the demolition of it.

This thing was so well opened by Sir William Wyndham, and the facts he asserted so fully proved, that the whole House was in a flame, and the ministry stronger pushed than they had ever been on any occasion before. In order to ground a vote of censure on Mr. Walpole for suffering our present friends, the French, in this barefaced manner to violate their treaty with us, an account was demanded of all his transactions with regard to this affair during his residence as Ambassador at the Court of France; copies of the memorials he had presented there, and the letters that had passed between him and the Secretaries of State were likewise demanded; and, in short, so many papers were asked for, that the Opposition overshot the mark, for, time being necessary to lay these papers before the House, and time to power being everything, the further consideration of this affair, after a debate that lasted till four o'clock in the morning, was adjourned for eight days, and in that space matters were so well contrived, so successfully carried on, and so expeditiously executed by the ministry, that the first paper that was read in the House on the day appointed for the further consideration of the state of Dunkirk was the copy of an absolute order from the King of France to the Governor of Dunkirk to put

that harbour in the situation it ought to be by the article ¹⁷³⁰ relating to it in the Treaty of Utrecht; and if any works contrary to the Treaties of Utrecht and the Hague had been erected, this order enjoined them forthwith to be demolished.

The true state of this affair was, that the inhabitants of Dunkirk, from the year 1718 to the present time, had, at their own expense, and though not by the command, yet by the connivance of the Court of France, constantly and gradually been working at this harbour to repair it, and had so far succeeded that, the fortifications excepted, it was in almost as good a state as before the demolition.

Mr. Walpole (as appeared in the House of Commons) had made several remonstrances at the Court of France against this proceeding, and had received several promises of justice being done; but could never obtain satisfaction by the performance of them. The close league in which we then were with the French, and had been from the time of the Treaty of Hanover, the want we had of them, the fear of breaking with them when we were well with no other Power in Europe, and our earnest desire to conclude the Treaty of Seville, had all concurred to make Mr. Walpole less pressing on the affair of Dunkirk than he would otherwise have been, and perhaps than he ought to have been. But as soon as he had obtained that very explicit order from the Cardinal which I have already mentioned, this Dunkirk storm, that was very near shipwrecking the Administration, entirely blew over, and those who raised it had nothing to comfort them for not having demolished the Walpoles but the glory of bragging that their industry had re-demolished Dunkirk.

A more particular account of this affair may be seen in a pamphlet, entitled *A Summary Account of the State of Dunkirk*, etc., written by Lord Hervey. I have two reasons for referring thus to papers in an appendix: the one is, that, by not inserting the substance of them in the main body of this work, people may with more ease reject the reading

1730 of them, if their curiosity leads them not to more minute explanations on those subjects they treat of; the other is, that it saves me the trouble of making extracts.¹

There being no supplemental money-job to be done for the Court at the end of this Session, such as the £115,000 or a vote of credit, all Sir Robert Walpole's Parliamentary trouble for this year finished with the Dunkirk business; but his distress in the palace kept him still anxious, Lord Townshend's quarrel with him being got to that height that Lord Townshend would neither act on with him nor go out. He talked every day of retiring, but did not stir. The King was brought so far that he had consented to let him go, but would not force him out; the Queen wished him gone, but knew not how to make him go; and Lord Townshend, who, by quarrelling with Sir Robert Walpole and retiring into the country, thought to step quietly out of a sinking ship, when he found the storm subsiding and the ship not likely to sink, began to repent his having turned his eyes to the shore, and had a mind to remain on board. However, it was now too late, and Lord Townshend having positively declared to the King in the winter that he would quit, Sir Robert Walpole had got the King's leave to tell Mr. Stanhope that he should succeed Lord Townshend as Secretary of State. Mr. Stanhope, as a reward for his good services in concluding the Treaty of Seville, had been immediately after created a Peer, by the title of Lord Harrington, and was now at Paris settling at that Court a plan for the execution of the Treaty of Seville by force, in case the Emperor should by force oppose it.

Lord Hervey was to succeed Lord Harrington as Vice-Chamberlain, and because it would have been a great inconvenience to have the borough of Bury lie open all the summer, it was necessary to give Lord Hervey the gold key before the breaking up of the Parliament, that he

¹Croker decided not to reprint these documents and his example is followed in this edition.

might be rechosen immediately.¹ This enabled Sir Robert ¹⁷³⁰ Walpole to ask the King's leave to send for the key from Lord Harrington, and to promise him the seals in lieu of it as soon as he came to England, which, of course, pushed Lord Townshend out without Sir Robert seeming to take this step directly to precipitate Lord Townshend's departure. Accordingly, the key was sent for, and given to Lord Hervey.

Soon after Lord Harrington came over he received ^{May 7} the seals, and Lord Townshend retired into the country. Never was any minister more gently disgraced yet never was any disgraced minister more thinly attended, not one man sharing his fortune or seeming to repine at it. He had made his court to the Prince by telling him that his only reason for continuing in so long was in hopes of finishing before he went the negotiation then on foot for His Royal Highness's marriage with a daughter of Prussia. Lord Carteret was turned out of the Lieutenantcy of Ireland at the same time, though not as a friend of Lord Townshend's, for they hated one another mortally, Lord Carteret having been, six years before, removed from being Secretary of State and sent into this honourable Irish exile on Lord Townshend's refusing to act with him in the Secretary's office. Lord Carteret had the offer of the Steward's Staff at his return from Ireland but refused it. It was vacated by the Duke of Dorset's being made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and given, on Lord Carteret's declining it, to Lord Chesterfield, who on this occasion made the warmest professions to Sir Robert Walpole that it was possible to utter, acknowledging that his attachment this winter to Lord Townshend gave him no right to expect this favour, and he concluded with saying, "I had lost the game, but you have taken my cards into your hand and recovered it." Upon Lord Carteret's disgrace

¹At that date the Speaker could only issue a warrant for a writ for a by-election in pursuance of an order from the House of Commons, which could only be given when the House was sitting.

1730 Lord Winchilsea quitted the Comptroller's staff, having been always attached to Lord Carteret, and in most things governed by him, though on this occasion he certainly governed Lord Carteret, who had always declared that any man who hoped to get power, or hurt those who possessed it, had better be a Gentleman Usher within the palace than leave it open to his rivals by retiring out of it.

Lord Wilmington, who had been kicked in the beginning of the reign out of the House of Commons into the House of Lords, received a promotion of the same kind at this time. He was made an Earl and Privy Seal to make way for Mr. Pelham in the lucrative employment of Paymaster to the army, and was soon after, on the death of Lord Trevor, made President of the Council.

Mr. Pelham, the Duke of Newcastle's only brother, was strongly attached to Sir Robert Walpole, and more personally beloved by him than any man in England. He was a gentleman-like sort of man, of very good character, with moderate parts, in the secret of every transaction, which, added to long practice, made him at last, though not a bright speaker, often a useful one; and by the means of a general affability he had fewer enemies than commonly falls to the share of one in so high a rank.¹

¹The *Memoirs* now skip two years (see the Introduction).

The latter end of this summer, a design was projected ¹⁷³² among all the Dissenters of England to petition the Parliament in the next Session for the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, or at least for an explanation of them in behalf of the Presbyterians, so far as these acts comprehended or affected them.

The Dissenters' plea for asking this favour of the Parliament seemed very natural and reasonable. They said they had for above forty years shown themselves steady friends to the constitution of England in the state, and constant supporters of the established government on revolution principles; they had served hitherto without any reward, and now desired no other gratuity than the bare removal of that unjust distinction made between them and the rest of their fellow-subjects under which they had so long laboured and by which they were excluded from all employments of trust or profit. They said what made this request more reasonable was that the hardship they now complained of had never been laid upon them at all, had they not originally consented to it themselves, and that the reason of their consenting to it had been merely for the public good and the common Protestant cause; circumstances at that time requiring their voluntary submission to this self-denial act in order to facilitate the exclusion of Papists from all places of power when this kingdom was on the brink of being subjected to their sway under the authority of a Popish successor. They further added that they had not only always shown themselves unwavering and indefatigable champions for the Protestant succession, but that they had equally proved themselves firm and constant friends to what was called the Whig party, and the set of men now in power; consequently, if they could not get rid of this

1732 stigmatizing brand of reproach that declared them unfit to be trusted with any employment in the executive part of the civil government under a Whig Parliament, they could never hope for relief at all, since the other set of men, who called themselves the Church party, and whom they had always opposed, should they come into power, would not only from principle forbear to show the Dissenters any favour, but would certainly from resentment go still further, and probably load them with some new oppression. Experience had already proved the probability of this conjecture by the Schism Act and other violent measures taken to oppress them in the four last years of Queen Anne's reign. In this manner they expressed their pretensions to the favour they solicited; and the reason they gave for choosing to push this point immediately was that, as the time of election for a new Parliament was now drawing near, they thought it but reasonable to try whether those who had been so long receiving favours at their hands were ready to repay those favours with a piece of common justice, and if they were not, that the Presbyterians might in the ensuing elections have the prudence at least of being quiet, and forbear making enemies, since they were to despair of making friends.

This design of the Presbyterians put the Administration under great difficulties and into great apprehensions. They saw the injustice of opposing their petition if it came into Parliament, and the danger there was, on the other hand, of showing it any countenance. They knew it would seem the last ingratitude in any who called themselves Whigs to reject it, and the highest imprudence to receive it. For though the clergy had hitherto been kept pretty quiet by nothing being attempted either to restrain their power or to favour their adversaries, yet the ministers were sure that if any step was taken that looked like encouragement to the Dissenters it would inevitably turn all the parsons, to a man, in the approaching elections, against

every one that should appear to forward it; and as to those ¹⁷³² who did not forward it, the [Dissenting] ministers would never give them a vote again, and though in every county in England and at every election since the Revolution the Dissenters had hitherto stood by the Whigs with a firmness like that of the Triarii of the Roman legion, they would certainly for the future be as little to be depended upon as any of the temporary mercenary auxiliaries of a Cornish borough.

Sir Robert Walpole, therefore, to avoid this dilemma, resolved, if possible, to prevail with the Presbyterians to postpone bringing their petition to Parliament till some more proper opportunity offered.

He knew Hoadly, Bishop of Salisbury, was the only man that could do him service upon this occasion, or at least that he was the most able, both from his capacity and the interest he had among this sect. But the misunderstanding and coldness which the disposition of the Bishopric of Durham had created between the Bishop of Salisbury and Sir Robert Walpole made him ashamed to ask a favour of him, and a little diffident of its being granted in case he did ask it.

It was therefore agreed that the Queen herself should send for the Bishop of Salisbury and make it her request that he would do all in his power to divert this impending storm. Accordingly, he came to her one evening to Kensington, where, with profusion of affability, she began with telling the Bishop the occasion on which she had sent for him, and that her reason for pitching upon him was her knowing him to be not only the ablest man to serve the King in this point, but because she looked upon him as one of the readiest to serve him in all others; that his long uninterrupted known zeal for his family, and the many services he had already done them, were sufficient to convince her of this truth; but she assured him at the same time that she did not depend on his personal attachment to the King, or his fidelity to the interest of

1732 their family, so far as to expect anything of him that should not be perfectly consistent with the whole tenor of his conduct with regard to all his other principles, writings, and professions; and for this reason, she told him, she had not sent for him to desire he would act, write, or speak on this occasion in the least tittle contradictory to his former sentiments, but to put him in a way both to serve the Government and the Dissenters at the same time. She told him that she did not want to know his opinion upon the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, but believed she could convince him that, as all times were not proper even to do proper things, so it was impossible for the Dissenters, either for their own or for the Whig interest, to choose one more improper than the present to try their strength and their friends on this favourite point. His Lordship, she said, could not but be sensible of the divisions there were already subsisting in the Whig party, and that this question, if brought to a trial, must inevitably make another subdivision in the common friends to the Government and her family; for, as they were already split into ministerial and anti-ministerial Whigs, there would naturally sprout up a third class on this debate, who would call themselves Church Whigs, and who would profess themselves as great enemies to this innovation as any of the High Church men among the Tories. To her knowledge, she said, there were very many able, sensible, and honest men who were as zealous for the toleration on the foot it now stood, as they were for the Revolution and the Protestant Government in the manner it was now constituted; but that they would no more consent to break in on the power of the Church by further encroachments on the ecclesiastical authority than they would attempt any new restrictions on the prerogative of the Crown, and as little contribute to introduce a universal unlimited freedom of worship in the Church as a commonwealth in the State.

This being the case, his Lordship, she said, must see the ill consequences which this bone of contention at this

time must produce even among the friends to the Government; nor would the ill effects of it stop there, for as the clergy had hitherto been kept quiet by a promise of everything in their province remaining as it was, so consequently, when that promise was broken, it would set all the turbulent spirits and ill humours of that body again afloat, and no one could foresee the infinite difficulty which that might bring upon the Government, or the confusion in which it might involve the whole kingdom. But, besides these remote inconveniences that were to be apprehended, the immediate havoc it would make in the approaching elections was certain; and, in her opinion, if a Parliamentary decision of the affair now under consideration could not be prevented, the bringing of it to a final determination at present would so split and tear the Whig party, and would make some of them so unpopular among their friends, and others so obnoxious to neutral persons, that it would be very improbable, if not impossible, for a Whig Parliament to be chosen.

Upon the whole, therefore, what she desired of his Lordship was that he would use his interest with the Dissenters to postpone this request to the Parliament till such time as those who were really their friends should dare to show themselves so and not be intimidated from espousing the interest of the Dissenters in Parliament by an apprehension of losing their own interest in the country.

The Bishop assured Her Majesty that she was not mistaken in the opinion she had of his readiness to serve the King and her on all occasions, and that whatever his little power could do to extricate them out of any difficulties, at any time, should be done with the greatest cheerfulness, diligence, and fidelity. But as he had set out in the world with a declared attachment both to ecclesiastical and civil liberty, and that he had so often given his opinion in conversation and in print with regard to the unreasonableness of these laws in a social light, and the profaneness of them theologically considered, so it would

1732 be impossible for him ever to contradict what he had so often asserted; and therefore he must plainly and honestly tell Her Majesty that whenever the repeal of them came to be proposed in Parliament, he must always be for it, and forward as much as in him lay a step which he thought but common justice from this Government to its long-oppressed and long-faithful friends. He further told Her Majesty that as he had always declared himself so explicitly and distinguished himself so zealously on this point, it would be impossible, even though he were profligate enough to desire it, for common prudence ever to permit him to speak in any other strain on these matters. However, as a common friend both to the Whigs and the Dissenters, if it should appear, upon feeling people's pulse with regard to this thing, that the present proposal of it in Parliament might prejudice the one without advantaging the other, he should be very glad to employ all the interest he had among the Dissenters to divert the immediate trying of this point, and would speak his opinion to the Dissenters as freely upon the success they were now likely to have, as he had now done to Her Majesty of the success he thought they ought to have.

This was the substance of Her Majesty's first conference with the Bishop of Salisbury on this chapter; but, soon after this conversation, there was a report spread, both in town and country, that the Queen had sent for the Bishop of Salisbury and convinced him that this request of the Dissenters was so unreasonable, that he had promised her not to support them in it. Whoever was sanguine enough to circulate this report, it was certainly as little consistent with good policy as with truth; since, if the Bishop of Salisbury had been inclined (which he was not) to favour the Administration by espousing their interest in preference to the Dissenters, this report, instead of promoting such a design, would have made the execution of it less practicable, as it would have made the Dissenters look upon the Bishop of Salisbury as less their friend, and

consequently made any advice he should give them of less ¹⁷³² weight.

The Bishop was so reasonably angry and vexed at what had been given out, that he went to Sir Robert Walpole, and very fairly told him that those who had endeavoured to propagate this opinion he believed meant only hurt to himself, but in effect it would do the Administration no service, since whatever use he might have been of to the Government on this occasion, it would certainly be necessary now for him to act with the utmost caution, for fear of giving any colour of truth by his own conduct to these suggestions that had been made so little to his advantage. He further told Sir Robert Walpole that he could not help owning his first consideration would now be the care of his own reputation and character; he knew how nice the situation was in which he stood at present, and how hard a part he had to act both as to the Court and as to the Dissenters, from the jealousy there would be on both sides of his partiality; but that, at all hazards, he was determined to clear up that point of his having received conviction from the Queen that the Dissenters now making this request to Parliament was unreasonable; and said he was sure Sir Robert Walpole himself must approve his solicitude to disculpate himself of such an imputation, since in common sense and plain language such suggestions could bear no other construction than that he had been tampered with at Court till he had submitted to temporize with its authority, at the expense both of his opinion and his integrity. Sir Robert Walpole, after making the Bishop a great many professions of the cordiality of his friendship towards him, and telling him with what gratitude he thought of all the obligations he had formerly had both to his affection and his capacity, assured him that as much as the Administration wanted his assistance in this important affair, if he thought it could prejudice his own character to give it them, he would be the last man in England to ask or desire it; that as to this

1732 report of his Lordship's having been convinced by the Queen of the Dissenters' plea being unreasonable, he had never heard it, and thought, if there was any such report, it was below his Lordship to regard it; for though there always would be some idle people on all occasions ready to make stories, and some few weak and credulous enough to believe them, yet his Lordship's sentiments were too well known, and his character too well established, for any sensible body ever to doubt of the one or receive any ill impressions of the other. That as to the main question, whether this thing ought to be done for the Dissenters or not, he was sure the Bishop did not want to know his thoughts upon it; though he looked on the application at this time as unseasonable, yet he was far from thinking the request itself, abstractedly considered, unreasonable. But, notwithstanding this, let his private opinion be what it would, people in his station, he said, must now and then act a little with regard to what others thought right, as well as what they thought right themselves; and that he had sounded many of the firmest friends to the Government upon this point, and found so many against it in opinion, as thinking it bore the appearance of breaking in on the established Church, and so many more against it for prudential and personal reasons with regard to their interest in the country, that he was sure, if the point was now to be tried, it could not be carried; and that for this reason, how grateful soever the Court might be to the Dissenters for the services they had done this Government, and how well so ever it might wish them, yet the Administration must run such risks, and incur so much ill will, if at this juncture it appeared for them, that no prudent man could advise the King to take the unpopular part of espousing them, especially with so little prospect of success. As to himself, in private and in confidence, he would not scruple to own to the Bishop that his heart was with them; but in this country, which was in reality a popular government that only bore

the name of monarchy, and especially in this age where ¹⁷³² clamour and faction were so prevalent over reason and justice, he said a minister sometimes must swim with the tide against his inclination, and that the current was too strong at present against this proposal of the Dissenters for any judicious minister to think of stemming it. He further added, that if he were wholly unconcerned as a minister, and only considered this thing as a friend to the Dissenters, he should certainly rather advise them to try it at the beginning of a new Parliament than at the end of an old one, as people would be less afraid of the ferment in the country seven years before elections were again to come on, than one; and consequently those who were friends to the Dissenters would have the principal check to their showing themselves such removed to so great a distance that it would be almost the same thing as being entirely taken away.

The Bishop asked Sir Robert if, in making use of this argument to the Dissenters, he might give them hopes of finding more favour from the Court in case they would adjourn their pretensions till the opening of a new Parliament; but Sir Robert avoided hampering himself by any promise of that kind by saying that as such a promise could never be kept a secret, so its being known to be given for the future would have just the same ill effects as the performance of it in present; and, for that reason, whatever he thought might be done, he would not, nor dare not, say it should be done.

The Bishop plainly saw through this artifice, and at the same time perceived that his encouraging the Dissenters to proceed further in this affair at present would only ruin his own little remnant of interest at Court, without availing them, and therefore resolved plainly to represent to them what they had to expect, and advise them not to push a point which might force many who were thought their friends to desert them, and hurt many who would stand by them, and give their enemies advantage without a possibility of pro-

1732 curing any benefit to themselves. Sir Robert Walpole in this interview reproved the Bishop often for acting with Lord Barrington, an Irish dissenting peer, who set himself at the head of the Presbyterians on this occasion, and who, Sir Robert told the Bishop, had neither parts to serve the cause nor reputation to give it weight: and, in truth, Lord Barrington's character was not the brightest in understanding, nor the most unsullied in integrity.¹ The Bishop had several more conferences on this subject both with the Queen and Sir Robert Walpole, but as they were all to the same effect with those I have related I shall not recapitulate them.

The Dissenters were so sanguine all over England in this project that in every county and great town in the kingdom they had meetings to consult upon it and methodise the execution of it, and deputations were sent from every quarter to communicate their resolutions to the body of the Dissenters in London, on whom they relied for the solicitation and management of the whole.

This enabled Sir Robert Walpole to defeat the project entirely; for out of the body of the London Dissenters a committee was to be chosen, to treat and confer with the ministers; and as the honest gentlemen who composed that committee were all moneyed men of the city and scriveners, who were absolutely dependent on Sir Robert, and chosen by his contrivance, they spoke only as he prompted, and acted only as he guided.

However, to save appearances, everything was to be carried on with the utmost seeming formality and method, and accordingly this packed committee was to meet the Lord Chancellor, Mr. Onslow, the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Lord President of the Council, the two Secretaries of State, and Sir Robert Walpole, in order to

¹He had been expelled from the House of Commons in 1723 for his connection with a fraudulent company. On this occasion he was said to have promised the Government that if they gave him an English peerage he would persuade the Dissenters to drop their application. (Egmont, i. 364.)

ask and learn from these great men what the Presby- 1732
terians, in case they brought their petition now into
Parliament, had to hope from the Court, the House of
Lords, and the House of Commons.

Sir Robert Walpole at this meeting began with a dissertation on the subject on which they were convened, and repeated most of the things he had before said to the Bishop of Salisbury. The Speaker avoided giving his opinion on the thing itself, but was very strong and explicit on the inexpediency of bringing it now before the Parliament, and the little probability, if it was brought there, of its success. My Lord President looked wise, was dull, took snuff, and said nothing. Lord Harrington took the same silent, passive part. The Lord Chancellor and the Duke of Newcastle had done better had they followed that example too; but both spoke very plentifully, and were both equally unintelligible, the one from having lost his understanding, and the other from never having had any.

The result of this conference was reported by the com- Dec. 29
mittee to a general assembly of all the Dissenters in London, convened for that purpose; and upon that report this assembly came to the following resolutions:

First, That if a petition was to be now preferred to Parliament in their favour, that there was no prospect of success.

Secondly, That the present was consequently an improper time for any application to Parliament of that kind.

And, Thirdly, It was resolved to communicate the negotiations of the committee, and the resolutions of this assembly thereupon, to all the Dissenters in England.

In this manner this storm that threatened the Administration from the Presbyterian party blew over. Sir Robert Walpole conducted the whole affair on his part with great skill, temper, and dexterity; but the Presbyterians, as well as many who were unconcerned, saw plainly that the Dissenters' cause was betrayed, and their interests sold, by their factors in London. The Bishop of Salisbury had the misfortune, though he acted with the greatest caution and

1732 the strictest candour both towards the Court and towards the Dissenters, to please neither; the latter thought he had pressed their cause too little, and the other that he had supported it too much. So that it happened to him on this occasion, as it happens to most people of honour in such delicate situations, that the more pains they take not to be in the wrong, the less either side are willing to acknowledge them to be in the right; nobody, who desires partiality, being capable of owning they received justice, though it be ever so strictly performed.

But this flame was no sooner extinguished in the nation than another was kindled, and one that was much more epidemical, and raged with much greater fury. Faction was never more busy on any occasion, terrors were never more industriously scattered, and clamour never more universally raised.

That which gave rise to these commotions was a project of Sir Robert Walpole's to ease the land-tax of one shilling in the pound, by turning the duty on tobacco and wine, then payable on importation, into inland duties; that is, changing the Customs on those two commodities into excises; by which scheme, joined to the continuation of the salt-duty, he proposed to improve the public revenue £500,000 per annum, in order to supply the abatement of one shilling in the pound on land, which raises about that sum.

The landed men had long complained that they had ever since the Revolution borne the heat and burden of the day for the support of the Revolution Government; and as the great pressure of the last war had chiefly lain on them (the land having for many years been taxed to four shillings in the pound), they now began to say that since the public tranquillity both at home and abroad was firmly and universally established, if ease was not at this time thought of for them, it was a declaration from the Government that they were never to expect any, and that two shillings in the pound on land was the least that they

or their posterity, in the most profound peace and fullest tranquillity, were ever to hope to pay.

This having been the cry of the country gentlemen and landowners for some time, Sir Robert Walpole thought he could not do a more popular thing than to form a scheme by which the land-tax should be reduced to one shilling in the pound, and yet no new tax be substituted in the lieu of it, no new duty laid on any commodity whatsoever, and the public revenue improved £500,000 per annum, merely by this alteration in the method of management.

The salt-duty, which had been revived the year before, could raise only in three years what one shilling in the pound on land raised in one year; consequently, as that tax was an equivalent only to one-third of a shilling on land, if the remission of that shilling on land was further and annually continued, some other fund must be found to supply the other two-thirds.

This of excising tobacco and wine was the equivalent projected by Sir Robert Walpole, but this scheme, instead of procuring him the popularity he thought it would, caused more clamour and made him even, whilst the project was only talked of and in embryo, more vilified and abused by the universal outcries of the people, than any one act of his whole administration.

The art, vigilance, and industry of his enemies had so contrived to represent this scheme to the people, and had so generally in every county and great town throughout all England prejudiced their minds against it, they had shown it in so formidable a shape and painted it in such hideous colours, that everybody talked of the scheme as a general excise; they believed that food, and raiment, and all the necessaries of life, were to be taxed; that armies of excise officers were to come into any house and at any time they pleased; that our liberties were at an end, trade going to be ruined, Magna Charta overturned, all property destroyed, the Crown made absolute, and Parliaments themselves no longer necessary to be called.

1733 This was the epidemic madness of the nation on this occasion; whilst most of the boroughs in England, and the city of London itself, sent formal instructions by way of memorials to their representatives, absolutely to oppose all new excises and all extension of excise laws, if proposed in Parliament, though introduced or modelled in any manner whatsoever.

It is easy to imagine that this reception of a scheme by which Sir Robert Walpole proposed to ingratiate himself so much with the people, must give him great disquiet. Some of his friends, whose timidity passed afterwards for judgment, advised him to relinquish it, and said, though it was in itself so beneficial a scheme to the public, yet since the public did not see it in that light, that the best part he could take was to lay it aside.

Sir Robert Walpole thought, since he was so far embarked, that there was no listening to such advice without quitting the King's service, for as it was once known that he designed to execute this scheme, had he given it up, everything that had been said of its tendency would have been taken for granted; and the same men who had prepossessed the minds of the people, so far as to have these things credited, would very naturally and easily have persuaded them that their rescue from ruin, and the stop that had been put to this impending blow, were entirely owing to their patriotism; that it was the stand they had made had prevented the universal destruction that had been threatened to the liberties and fortunes of the people.

Sir Robert Walpole, therefore (who, if he could have foreseen the difficulties in which this scheme involved him, would certainly never have embarked in it at all), in this disagreeable dilemma chose what he thought the least dangerous path, and resolved, since he had undertaken it, to try to carry it through. His manner of reasoning was that if he had given way to popular clamour on this occasion, it would be raised, right or wrong, on every

future occasion to thwart and check any measure that ¹⁷³³ could be taken by the Government whilst he should have the direction of affairs, and that the consequence of that must be his resignation of his employment or his dismissal from the King's service.

About the middle of January the Parliament met as ^{Jan. 16} usual. The King in his speech set forth the happy situation of affairs both at home and abroad, asked nothing but the ordinary supplies for the current service of the year, and concluded as usual with a universal recommendation of temper and unanimity to the Commons in all their debates, desiring them to avoid all heat and animosities, and praying them not to be diverted by any specious pretences whatsoever from raising the supplies in the easiest manner to his people.

The two great affairs of this Session were the army and these excises; and the reception these two points met with in the world plainly shows on what capricious and unreasonable foundations popular clamour is generally raised; for considering our constitution and the present situation of our affairs both at home and abroad, there was as little to be urged in defence of the measure of keeping up the same number of troops as there was in fair arguing against the excise scheme; yet on the chapter of excise the whole nation was put into a flame, whilst the army was scarcely mentioned in the country, and passed through the House little more disputed than the malt-tax, or any other of the ordinary annual supplies.

It was hoped by Sir Robert Walpole's enemies, more than feared by his friends, that the defection among the Lords on this point of the excises would be very considerable, and that several who had long wished him ill in secret, though in public they had abetted all his measures, would take this opportunity to strike at him. Of this number were reckoned the Duke of Argyll, the Duke of Montrose, Earl of Stair, Earl of Marchmont, Duke of Bolton, Lord Chesterfield, Lord Clinton, and Lord

1733 Cobham. There were frequent meetings, intrigues, consultations, and cabals among these Lords, in what manner they should show their opposition, and what previous steps were necessary to be taken to make it most effectual.

Among many other things it was resolved that some one of them should ask an audience of the Queen in order to try how far they could work either on her reason or her fear by telling her in the strongest terms the unfitness and unpopularity of the point pushed by her favourite, by setting forth the hazards she ran in maintaining him in it, and endeavouring to persuade her of the impossibility there was, in this universal discontent, that he should be able to carry it through.

Lord Stair was pitched upon to be the ambassador from the faction to Her Majesty on this occasion. A man in years and of experience, one of the sixteen Scotch peers, who had been ambassador in France in the ticklish times of the Duke of Orleans' regency, and had acted there with skill and credit to himself and to the honour and benefit of his country.

He was reckoned a man of honour and integrity, and though he had much more of the profusion of money in his conduct than is common to his countrymen, yet the desire of getting it was as predominant in his composition as in the most thrifty Scotchman of them all. He had been ill with Sir Robert Walpole some years ago, but upon the Duke of Queensberry's resigning his employment of Vice-Admiral of Scotland, his Lordship, forgetting all former wrongs and resentment, wrote a most submissive letter to Sir Robert, full of the strongest professions of future friendship and good behaviour, and desired to succeed the Duke of Queensberry. He did so, but notwithstanding this boon being granted, he soon recurred to grumbling, complaining, and every other mark of his former discontent, except retiring to Scotland. His Lordship was of a very warm, prompt temper, and when he was

angry did not hesitate to express his being so in very strong 1733
and irritating terms.

In the audience he asked of the Queen, he opened his embassy by telling her, that he had long thought himself neglected and ill used by those who were at the head of the Administration, but he assured Her Majesty it was not that which now prompted him to give her this trouble; for, notwithstanding that ill usage, whilst the King's measures and the points proposed by his ministers in Parliament had been such as were not detrimental to the nation, Her Majesty was very sensible that he had never from pique or ill humour given any opposition or aimed at obstructing whatever had been thought proper to be done. He hoped, he said, that Her Majesty would give herself the trouble one moment to reflect on his past conduct, and was sure she could not then help being so just to him as to own that this was strictly true; and since it was so, he hoped Her Majesty would likewise have candour enough to believe that the strong declarations he had made against the great point of excise now in debate had been entirely owing to a thorough conviction that if the personal enemies of Sir Robert Walpole and the most determined Jacobites in the kingdom had been to suggest a measure that would be the surest to serve their cause, to ruin Sir Robert Walpole, and endanger even the security of her family in this kingdom, they could not have pitched on a scheme more conducive to these ends. The scheme, he told her, was injudiciously at first concerted and hastily undertaken; that it was known to have been so now even by Sir Robert himself, and was only at present pushed by him in obstinacy, because he would not own himself guilty of an error, which must end in his disgrace or the total ruin of the nation. But as Sir Robert was reduced by his rashness, by a wantonness in power, or by a want of judgment to this fatal option, self-preservation, obstinacy, and pride, had made him choose even to risk his master's Crown by alienating the affections of his subjects and forcing a

1733 scheme upon them contrary to their universal remonstrances, rather than submit to own that he had been deceived, and in consequence of that deception had endeavoured to deceive Her Majesty and the King. "But, Madam, though Your Majesty knows nothing of this man but what he tells you himself, or what his creatures and flatterers, prompted by himself, tell you of him, yet give me leave to assure Your Majesty that in no age, in no reign, in no country, was ever any minister so universally odious as the man you support. He is hated by the army, because he is known to support them against his will, and hated by the country for supporting them at all; he is hated by the clergy, because they know the support they receive from him is policy, contrary to his principles of Whigism, and a support he makes them earn at a dear rate; he is hated by the city of London, because he never did anything for the trading part of it, nor aimed at any interest of theirs but a corrupt influence over the directors and governors of the great moneyed companies; he is hated by all the Scotch to a man, because he is known to have combated every mark of favour the King has been so good to confer on any of that nation; and he is little better beloved by many Englishmen, even of those who vote with him and serve under him. His power being thus universally dreaded, and his measures being thus universally disliked, and Your Majesty being thought his protectress; give me leave to say, Madam, the odium incurred by his oppressions and injustice is not entirely confined to his own person; and as everybody, Madam, does imagine that he cannot be so blind, so deaf, and so insensible, as not to see, hear, and know himself obnoxious to the people of all ranks and denominations in the kingdom, so it is thought the only resource he now has is to throw power into the hands of the Crown, where he must take refuge, and from whence alone he can hope for protection. People are confirmed in this opinion by this enslaving scheme of excises, which they neither do nor can think upon in any

other light. And if Your Majesty thinks the English so ¹⁷³³ degenerated, and the minds of the people so enslaved, as to receive chains without struggling against those who endeavour to fasten them; if you are willing to risk the power the law has given to the Crown, in order to add an illegal authority inconsistent with the fundamental principles of this Government; if you wish to do it and think it can be done, you are in the right to persevere in the maintenance of this project and projector, in contradiction to the manifest bent of the nation, in contempt of the universal clamour of the kingdom, in defiance of an irritated people, and in a thorough disregard to the nature of the Constitution and the laws of a free country. That he absolutely governs Your Majesty nobody doubts, and very few scruple to say; they own you have the appearance of power, and say you are contented with the appearance, whilst all the reality of power is his, derived from the King, coveyed through you, and vested in him. The King is looked upon as the engine of his minister's ambition, and your interest and influence over him as the secret springs by which this minister gives motion to all his master's actions. No greater proof can be given of the infinite sway this man has usurped over you, Madam, than in the very instance I have given of his first personal injury to me, which is the preference he has given Lord Ilay to me on every occasion, both here and in Scotland: for what cannot that man persuade you to, who can make you, Madam, love a Campbell? The only two men in this country who ever vainly hoped or dared to attempt to set a mistress's power up in opposition to yours were Lord Ilay and his brother the Duke of Argyll; yet one of the men who strove to dislodge you by this method from the King's bosom is the man your favourite has thought fit to place the nearest to his; a man, too, who is as little useful in his public character as amiable in his private one; one as mean in his conduct as in his aspect, and who acts no more like a man of quality than he looks like one; a man of as little weight

1733 as principle, and no more fit to be trusted with any commission that requires ability and judgment than with one that requires honesty and fidelity."

Here the Queen interrupted the thread of Lord Stair's invectives and told him, in the first place, with regard to Lord Ilay and himself, that she neither was nor desired to be informed of the causes of the misunderstandings between them; that she should be a very incompetent judge of the particulars if they were before her, and desired not to be made acquainted with them, because she should be as unwilling to speak her opinion if she had been able to form one, as she was now to enter into the dispute without having any opinion about it at all; that it was not her business to canvass the private characters and quarrels of those the King thought fit to employ, and, therefore, whenever his Lordship spoke of Lord Ilay to her, she desired he would remember he was speaking of the King's servant and to the King's wife.

This rebuke silenced Lord Stair on Lord Ilay's chapter, and when he resumed his speech, he told Her Majesty that his reason for saying what he had done was not so much from his own personal resentment to Lord Ilay, as to let Her Majesty know what sort of men these were, and how the world thought of them, who had the happiness of being most distinguished by the honest and judicious minister she maintained; and though he was not allowed to tell the faults of those this minister espoused, he hoped at least he might be at liberty to speak the merit of those he endeavoured to depress; and if he had that liberty, the list would consist of the names of every man of worth, honour, and probity in her Court. "Your Majesty little thinks of the defection there will be among the nobility on this point. I know it to be such (for it is not conjecture) as will startle not only your minister when it breaks out, but even his master and yourself. I know it will be such as will make it impossible for this Bill to pass the Lords, though power and corruption may force it through

the Commons. This being the case, I would oppose it even ¹⁷³³ in policy, were my conscience quite out of the question; but if policy were as strong on the other side, yet, Madam, I think it so wicked, so dishonest, so slavish a scheme, that my conscience would no more permit me to vote for it than his ought to have permitted him to project it."

When Lord Stair talked of his conscience with such solemnity, the Queen (the whole conversation being in French) cried out—"Ah, my Lord! ne me parlez point de conscience; vous me faites évanouir." Lord Stair was extremely shocked and nettled at this exclamation, and said he hoped no action of his had ever betrayed any want either of conscience or honour, and that his whole life had been guided by the strictest laws of both; and since it had been so, he assured Her Majesty he had no notion that the profligacy of mankind could be such as to make it possible for her favourite to find a majority of the House of Commons who, with repeated obstinate injustice and a shameless violation of their trust, would persevere in passing a Bill so evidently opposite to the inclinations of their constituents, so destructive of their interests and their liberties, and so contradictory to their express instructions and commands.

"Surely, my Lord," replied the Queen, "you think you are either talking to a child or to one that doats; for supposing this Bill to be everything which you have described it to be, do you imagine I should be weak enough to believe that you would oppose it for the reasons you have given? or that it would be natural for you to think that these arguments you have mentioned would weigh with anybody? Do you, my Lord, pretend to talk of the opinion of electors having any influence on the elected? You have made so very free with me personally in this conference, my Lord, that I hope you will think I am entitled to speak my mind with very little reserve to you; and believe me, my Lord, I am no more to be imposed upon by your professions than I am to be terrified

1733 by your threats. I must therefore once more ask you, my Lord, how you can have the assurance to talk to me of your thinking the sense of constituents, their interest, or their instructions, any measure or rule for the conduct of their representatives in Parliament; or if you believe I am so ignorant or so forgetful of all past proceedings in Parliament, as not to know that in the only occasion where these considerations should have biassed you, you set them all at nought? Remember the Peerage Bill, my Lord. Who then betrayed the interest of their constituents? Who gave up the birthright of their constituents? Who deprived their constituents of all chance of ever taking their turn with those whom they then sent to Parliament? The English Lords in passing that Bill were only guilty of tyranny, but every Scotch Lord was guilty of the last treachery; and whether you were one of the sixteen traitors, your own memory, I believe, will serve to tell you without the assistance of mine. To talk, therefore, in the patriot strain you have done to me on this occasion, can move me, my Lord, to nothing but laughter. Where you get your lesson, I do not want to know. Your system of politics you collect from the *Craftsman*; your sentiments, or rather your professions, from my Lord Bolingbroke and my Lord Carteret, whom you may tell, if you think fit, that I have long known to be two as worthless men of parts as any in this country, and whom I have not only been often told are two of the greatest liars and knaves in any country, but whom my own observation and experience have found so. If you think fit, you may also, by way of supplement, let Lord Carteret know that I am not yet reduced to wanting his protection, though I hear he bragged of having had the generosity to bestow it upon me when the affair of the Charitable Corporation was under prosecution in the House of Lords, and that he saved me from being exposed there. For the rest, my good Lord, as an old acquaintance, the best advice I can give you, if you are a friend to the King, is to detach yourself from his enemies; if you are a

friend to truth, to take your intelligence for the future 1733
from those who deal in it; if you are a friend to honesty, not
to herd with those who disclaim it; and, if you are a friend
to our family, never to cabal with those who look on ours
and the Jacobites' cause as things indifferent in themselves,
and to be espoused or combated in no other view, and on
no other motive, than as this or that may least or most
conduce to thwarting or gratifying their own private
avarice and ambition."

Lord Stair said he perceived Her Majesty was determined, but that she would see her error, and he hoped before it was too late. He worked himself up again into a violent passion, and took his leave in saying "Madame, vous êtes trompée, et le Roi est trahi."

The Queen, one evening when Lord Hervey came to give her an account of some debate in the House of Lords or Commons (which he did constantly through the whole Session), told him every circumstance of this conversation in the manner it is here related (excepting that of Lord Ilay and the Duke of Argyll having set up the power of a mistress in opposition to hers, which she did not mention; that was a particular which Lord Hervey had from Sir Robert Walpole); and this account agreeing in every essential part with that Sir Robert Walpole gave Lord Hervey of the rest of the conversation, as well as with the report Lord Stair made of it to his friends, I believe there can be no doubt but that the greatest and most material part of what I have related concerning this extraordinary conference is strictly and literally true. At the same time that the Queen let Lord Hervey into this anecdote, she told him Lord Stair had desired that the particulars of this conference might be kept secret, which she promised to do on her part as long as he submitted to do so on his; but finding, by private intelligence, joined to a public incident, that Lord Stair had bragged to Lord Carteret, as well as many others, of the strong things he had said to her, and that he had given out he had staggered her, she told Lord

1733 Hervey she looked upon herself as freed from that promise of secrecy, "et j'ai pris d'abord la première occasion d'égosiller tout."

Mar. 17 The public incident which convinced Her Majesty that Lord Stair had acquainted Lord Carteret with what had passed was this. In debate in the House of Lords on the affair of the troops for this year, some few days after this interview, Lord Carteret, by a little declamatory digression, took occasion to inveigh against excises and evil ministers, and found means this way to interweave in his speech an account that when France was ruled and oppressed by Cardinal Mazarin supported by the Queen Mother (then Regent), in opposition to the clamour of the people and inclination of the whole kingdom, the greatest general of his time, and a man of the first consideration at the Court, asked an audience of the Queen, and in that interview told her, "Madam, you maintain a man at the helm that should be rowing in your galleys."

When Lord Hervey told the Queen of this, she asked if there was nobody of the Court side in the House who was well read enough in the history of those times to tell Lord Carteret, from the Memoirs of the Cardinal de Retz, that the Prince of Condé (who was the general Lord Carteret meant) never opposed the measures of Cardinal Mazarin till the Cardinal found his ambition so insatiable that it was impossible to content him, and that the audience that Prince asked of the Queen was in order to impose upon her in the same manner he had endeavoured to impose on all France, which was by trying to persuade everybody that the effects of his private resentment were only the consequences of his zeal for the King and the public.

Lord Hervey said he was sorry none of her servants were so capable of answering Lord Carteret on this part of French history as he found Her Majesty would have been; and wished she had been present, to

have given any of them this hint, and to have said, like 1733
Agrippina:

—Derrière une voile, invisible et présente,
Je fus de ce grand corps l'âme toute puissante.

The Queen laughed, did not dislike the compliment, and said that she did not doubt but that he was as well versed in Retz as Racine, and that if he had been there, she should not have been wanted. "But," said she, "as you often tell me of my pride, I will now confess to you an instance of it, and to carry on the parallel you have drawn between me and Agrippina, will own to you that I very often feel myself, in conference *avec ces impertinens*—

Fille, femme, et mère de vos maîtres."

Lord Hervey said he was very glad her pride had so great a pleasure in reflecting on that which all her subjects had so great an advantage in her being.

Lord Stair boasted much to all his party, who circulated the history, of the bold truths he told the Queen, and the strong effect they seemed to have upon her. At the same time many pamphlets were written and dispersed in the country, setting forth the dangerous consequences of extending the excise laws, and increasing the number of excise officers; showing the infringement of the one upon liberty, and the influence the other must necessarily give the Crown in elections. And so universally were these terrors scattered through the nation, and so artfully were they instilled into the minds of the people, that this project, which in reality was nothing more than a mutation of two taxes from customs to excises, with an addition of only one hundred and twenty-six officers in all England for the collection of it, was so represented to the whole country, and so understood by the multitude, that there was hardly a town in England, great or small, where nine parts in ten of the inhabitants did not believe that this project was to establish a general excise, and that everything they eat or wore was to be taxed; that a colony of excise officers was

1733 to be settled in every village in the kingdom, and that they were to have a power to enter all houses at all hours; that every place and every person was to be liable to their search; and that such immense sums of money were to be raised by this project that the Crown would no longer be under the necessity of calling Parliaments for annual grants to support the Government, but be able to provide for itself, for the most part; and whenever it wanted any extraordinary supplies, that the excise officers, by their power, would be able at any time to choose just such a Parliament as the Crown should nominate and direct.

The effect these suggestions, inculcated and believed, must have on the minds of a people jealous of their liberties, susceptible of impressions, and prone to clamour, is easy to conceive. Every alarm sounded from the faction in London came reverberated by a thousand echoes from every part of the country. The whole nation was in a flame, and fresh fuel was constantly supplied by those who first kindled it, to keep it blazing.

Sir Robert Walpole delayed as long as he could bringing the proposal into Parliament, in hopes the clamour might subside, and the members consequently be less intimidated by the remonstrances of their constituents. Pamphlets were written, too, during this delay, on the side of Government, and sent all over England by the Administration, to show the people they had been imposed upon, blown up by false insinuations, and that the project was nothing more than a scheme to correct frauds committed in these two branches of the revenue, tobacco and wine, by which means it was proposed to raise the revenue enough to continue the reduction of the land-tax at one shilling in the pound without imposing any new tax on the subject and without increasing any tax already laid; but merely by this alteration in the method of collecting two duties already granted, which the consumer and fair trader now paid, and of which the public was defrauded by the evaders of the laws and the illicit dealers in these commodities.

But all this reasoning was to no purpose; the people ¹⁷³³ would neither hear arguments, examine facts, nor believe demonstration; and the universal cry of the kingdom was: "No slavery, no excise, no wooden shoes."

I cannot help here remarking that upon all the excise duties laid by Parliament since the Restoration (and some there have been in every reign from that time to this) there never was the least clamour raised in the country, or any opposition to them in Parliament, on any other foot than a dispute whether they would answer the charge of collection by their produce. Those, therefore, who accuse Sir Robert Walpole of want of penetration in not foreseeing the difficulties into which this scheme would lead him, are of that class (and a numerous one it is) who imagine that every event is so little casual, that whatever is, could not have been otherwise; and of course, with equal folly, impute all success to prudence, and all disappointments to indiscretion. But it is not to such fools that I write, though, to my sorrow, it is with such I daily converse—creatures who, though they laugh at magic, have a faith in a sort of terrestrial astrology (if I may be allowed the expression), and fancy every incident resulting really from accident the necessary consequence of a chain of causes, which every able political astrologer might foresee. And though these refining commentators have a thousand times found themselves in situations both of prosperity and distress, without being able to account how they came there, yet experience teaches them in vain the fallacy of their opinion, and they still continue to impute the success of the prosperous to contrivance, and the miscarriage of the unfortunate to imprudence.

At last the day came when this excise proposition was ^{Mar. 14} to be canvassed in Parliament. It was reported, the night before, that thousands of people would come down next day to the door of the House of Commons to petition the members, as they passed, to reject it; and menaces were whispered about to terrify all who should appear for it.

1733 To prevent the mischief that might be apprehended from such multitudes gathering together and falling into riot and tumult, proper directions were given to the justices of the peace, constables, and civil magistrates, to attend and keep the peace; and secret orders were likewise given both to the horse and foot Guards to be in readiness to march, in case of exigence and extremity, at a moment's warning.

The mob came down to Westminster, but not in so numerous a body as was expected, and in much better order. However, there were enough so to throng and crowd the lobby and Court of Requests, that it was with the utmost difficulty that the members of the House could pass in and out.

After a long debate, which lasted till one o'clock in the morning, the question was carried in a committee of the whole House, for the excise scheme, by a majority of 61; the numbers were 204 and 265.

Sir Robert Walpole, by the advice of all his friends, to avoid the insults that some of this rabble might have offered him, went out of the House the back way, through the Speaker's chamber, to Lord Halifax's, where he supped; from whence he came away privately, after the multitude was dispersed and all quiet.

This multitude was kept in so good order, that, excepting now and then a hiss upon some of the Court party when they came out, a little pointing and a loud whisper of "That's one of them," there was very little indecency or disorder committed. One there was among these people ruder than the rest, whom General Wade took by the collar, but upon his submission and entreaty the General let him go again, telling him he was a scoundrel and below his further notice.

Lord Hervey went, as soon as the House was up, to give the King an account of all that had passed within doors and without; the King was so anxious and so impatient that he had made Lord Hervey write to him

from the House at five o'clock to tell him what face ¹⁷³³ matters wore.

As soon as Lord Hervey came to St. James's the King carried him into the Queen's bedchamber, and there kept him without dinner till near three in the morning, asking him ten thousand questions, relating not only to people's words and actions, but even to their looks.

Sir Robert Walpole had so prepossessed the King in favour of this scheme that if it had been an act to secure and settle the Crown of England on him and his posterity he could not have been more eager in the measure, more anxious for its fate, or more solicitous for its success.

The light in which Sir Robert Walpole had represented this scheme to the King was that since he had settled the peace of Europe and regulated the pretensions of all the great Princes, since he had shown himself absolute master of that balance of power which England ought to hold, and that the wisdom and prudence of his counsels had adjusted all difficulties and got over all obstacles arising from the various views and claims of foreign Princes, that it might be expected of him he should now turn his thoughts towards making the best use he could of this success abroad by letting it contribute to the ease of his subjects at home; that to do that in the most popular and most effectual manner would be to give ease in the land-tax, as it was the most unequal tax, and the most generally complained of, of any tax now subsisting; and as this measure would make every landowner and country gentleman a zealous friend to his Government, so it would be the glory of his reign, and one not to be paralleled by any reign since the Revolution, that he had reduced the land-tax to one shilling in the pound, which was not only lower than ever it had been since it was first laid, but lower than the most sanguine landowner in the kingdom ever hoped to see it.

But, besides the glory and the popularity of this scheme, there was a consideration which, I believe, had its weight

1733 with His Majesty, and that was that if this scheme took effect, one-sixth of the duties on tobacco and wine being part of the Civil List funds, that part of his revenue would of course be increased one-sixth of whatever gain should accrue to the public by this mutation. For though, to cover this acquisition to the Crown, it was made part of the scheme that the Civil List duty should still be payable at the customs, yet people easily saw through that thin veil, and could, without great penetration, reason that whatever measures were taken to prevent the running of these commodities, by making them liable to an inland duty after they had got clear of the ports, would increase this duty in the customs in the same proportion that it would be raised in the excise, since the merchant and proprietor of these commodities would never run any risk or be at any expense to evade the custom-house officer at the first gate, when at so many more afterwards he would be equally exposed to be caught by the excise officer.

As this consideration of increasing the Civil List had weighed with the King to espouse this scheme, so Sir Robert Walpole made a second use of it by telling the King it was the chief reason why the adverse party opposed it; by which means His Majesty was induced to look on this opposition to the scheme as more personal to himself than to his minister, as there was an advantage evidently to accrue to the one, without the least appearance of emolument to the other.

During the whole progress of this Bill, which lasted about three weeks, the King was under the greatest anxiety for the event of it. Lord Hervey and Mr. Pelham were with him and the Queen almost every day to give them accounts, not only how people voted and talked in the House, but how they looked and how they spoke, and how they caballed in the town. Every division showing a decrease in the majority, the King grew, every division, more and more uneasy. Upon his saying one night to Lord Hervey that he never knew the Opposition, on any

occasion in his reign, so strong, so sanguine, and so ¹⁷³³ insolent, Lord Hervey, who had a mind to soften the difficulties he knew the Administration was in, put His Majesty in mind of the Dunkirk year, and said he thought the opposing party was much stronger, their spirits much higher, and the ground they fought on much better, at that junction than he had ever known them at any other. The King with some warmth replied, "Phoo! you talk of a time when my servants lay under all the disadvantages it was possible for a ministry to be exposed to. In the first place, it was so early in my reign that nobody knew whether I had any resolution in my temper, or any steadiness in my counsels, or not. In the next place, the ministry were divided and torn by contention among themselves; that was at a time when Townshend was in place, and was giving Walpole all the trouble he could, both in the Parliament and in my closet; Carteret was not yet discharged, there were a thousand different parties among my ministers, and nobody knew whom I would support. At such a time it was no wonder my business met with obstructions, or that it was neglected, when every one that should have done it had his own private business to mind, and knew not what he had to trust to. A prince who will be well served in this country, must free his minister from all apprehensions at Court, that the minister may give all his attention to the affairs of his master; which, with all the support that master can give him, are still liable, from the nature of this Government and the capriciousness of the people, to ten thousand accidents and difficulties unknown in other countries."

I mention this passage to show how much the Queen, by frequently inculcating her doctrine, had in five years changed His Majesty's first plan of government. His design at his first accession to the throne was certainly, as Boileau says of Louis XIV.:

Seul, sans ministre, à l'exemple des dieux,
Faire tout par sa main et voir tout de ses yeux.

1733 He intended to have all his ministers in the nature of clerks, not to give advice, but to receive orders; and proposed, what by experiment he found impracticable, to receive applications and distribute favours through no principal channel, but to hear from all quarters, and employ indifferently in their several callings those who by their stations would come under the denomination of ministers. But it was very plain, from what I have just now related from the King's own lips, as well as from many other circumstances in his present conduct, that the Queen had subverted all his notions and schemes, and fully possessed His Majesty with an opinion that it was absolutely necessary, from the nature of the English Government, that he should have but one minister; and that it was equally necessary, from Sir Robert's superior abilities, that he should be that one. But this work, which she now saw completed, had been the work of long time, much trouble, and great contrivance; for though, by a superiority of understanding, thorough knowledge of his temper, and much patience in her own, she could work him by degrees to any point where she had a mind to drive him, yet she was forced to do it often by slow degrees, and with great caution; for, as he was infinitely jealous of being governed, he was never to be led but by invisible reins; neither was it ever possible for her to make him adopt her opinion but by instilling her sentiments in such a manner as made him think they rose originally from himself. She always at first gave into all his notions, though never so extravagant, and made him imagine any change she wrought in them to be an afterthought of his own. To contradict his will directly, was always the way to strengthen it; and to labour to convince, was to confirm him. Besides all this, he was excessively passionate, and his temper upon those occasions was a sort of iron reversed, for the hotter it was the harder it was to bend, and if ever it was susceptible of any impression or capable of being turned, it was only when it was quite cool.

At the same time that the Queen had changed his ¹⁷³³ maxims of policy, she had by degrees too entirely altered both his opinion of his servants and his affection for them. Lord Wilmington and Lord Townshend, whom he had loved and admired, he now contemned and disliked; the one he had discharged from his confidence, though he still kept him in employment, and the other he had dismissed from both. His way of thinking, and his behaviour towards Sir Robert, was full as much, and as visibly, changed as to the other two; for, instead of betraying (as formerly) a jealousy of being thought to be governed by him; instead of avoiding every opportunity of distinguishing and speaking to him in public, instead of hating him whilst he employed him, and grudging every power with which he armed him, he very apparently now took all occasions to declare him his first, or rather his sole, minister; singled him out always in the drawing-room; received no application (military affairs excepted) but from him; and most certainly, if he loved anybody in the world besides the Queen, he had not only an opinion of the statesman, but an affection for the man. Of this affection he gave many little instances in talking of him, much easier to be perceived than described, as they are things that would make no figure in repetition; but, by the manner and at the times in which they were said, it was very plain he loved as well as admired him. When Lord Hervey (often to try him) gave him accounts of attacks that had been made on Sir Robert Walpole in the House, and the things Sir Robert had said in defence of himself and in retaliation on his adversaries, the King would often cry out, with colour flushing into his cheeks and tears sometimes in his eyes, and with a vehement oath, "He is a brave fellow; he has more spirit than any man I ever knew." The Queen, if she was by, always joined in chorus upon such occasions; and Lord Hervey, in these partial moments, never failed to make the most he could of his friend and patron's cause.

2733 On the Monday morning before that Wednesday that
April 9 was appointed for the second reading of the Bill, Lord Scarborough came to Sir Robert Walpole, to let him know that he found the clamour so hot and so general, that it was his opinion the Administration ought to yield to it; that, for his own part, how right soever he might think this scheme in an abstracted light, yet, considering the turn it had taken, he was determined not to contribute to cram it down the people's throats; and came to tell Sir Robert that, if it should be forced through the House of Commons, and brought into the House of Lords, he would oppose it there. He said, by the best information he could get, the dislike of this scheme was almost as universal among the soldiery as the populace, and that the military part of the commonalty were as much prejudiced against it as the mercantile people. The soldiers, he said, had got a notion that it would raise the price of tobacco, and upon this notion were so universally set against the scheme, that they cursed the Administration and the Parliament, murmured treason even under the walls of the palace, and were almost as ripe for mutiny as the nation for rebellion.

Sir Robert Walpole heard him with a great deal of temper and patience, and at last said: "My dear Lord, you have too much honesty to suspect, and consequently to see, how little there is in some who bring you these tales, or get them conveyed to you, and are, without knowing it, influenced by men who are as much inferior to you in understanding as in integrity. We both understand one another, and whatever may be the fate of this Bill, I have nothing but this to desire of you, as I am your friend, and wish to have you continue mine, when those who have kindled this flame and fomented these discontents till they have brought things, as you say, even at the door of the palace, to the brink of rebellion, when they shall receive their reward for that conduct, do not you make their cause your own, or sacrifice your interest to those who have

throughout this whole proceeding had no regard to yours, 1733 or to anything but the gratification of their own capricious resentment."

Lord Hervey came into the room just as Sir Robert Walpole had pronounced these words, and soon after Lord Scarborough took his leave. Sir Robert immediately told Lord Hervey what had passed, who said he was not so much surprised as Sir Robert seemed to be. "For you know, Sir, I long ago told you Lord Chesterfield governed him as absolutely as he does any of his younger brothers; and though you may think Lord Scarborough loves you personally, which was the security you told me you depended upon for his never undertaking or joining in anything against your interest, yet I own I see very little difference between that attachment not existing at all or existing in a degree inferior to the influence of those who wish to prevent its operating. But, upon the whole, Sir, what resolution will you take, or have you taken, with regard to dropping or going on with the Bill?" Sir Robert said he must see the King and the Queen, and be determined what course to steer by the temper and disposition in which he found them.

Had Lord Scarborough, from apprehension only, said this in private to Sir Robert Walpole, it would have left people some room to excuse his conduct, and think his proceeding fair and honourable; but before he made this declaration to Sir Robert Walpole he had already told his opinion and the resolution to several people, who had circulated the news of this considerable deserter through all the town. He certainly ought not, after the part he had acted, to have opened his lips on this subject to any one but Sir Robert; for, as he had been so warm a promoter of this scheme, and, till three days before it was laid aside, on all occasions asserting the propriety of it, most people were of opinion his defection proceeded from the increased number of objectors to the Bill, and not from the discovery of any new objections.

1733 This evening Sir Robert Walpole saw the King in the
April 9 Queen's apartment, just before the drawing-room, and the final resolution was then taken to drop the Bill; but, as there was a petition to come from the City of London against it the next day, it was resolved that the Bill should not be dropped till that petition was rejected, lest it should be thought to be done by the weight and power of the City.

Sir Robert Walpole, in coming from this conference, called on Lord Hervey (whose lodgings were just at the foot of the Queen's back staircase), to let him know what had passed. Sir Robert was extremely disconcerted, and seemed under full as much anxiety as he described the King and the Queen. Lord Hervey told him he had been twice sent for that afternoon by the King, but, not knowing in what strain to talk to him, as he was ignorant whether Sir Robert intended to go forward or retreat, and that he should be asked millions of questions relating to what he saw, what he heard, and what he thought, so, to avoid the difficulties this catechism would lay him under, he had kept out of the way. Sir Robert Walpole bade him be sure to stick to the necessity there was of not seeming to yield this point at the instigation of the City, and left all the rest to his own discretion. But though Sir Robert communicated to Lord Hervey many particulars of the conversation he had just held with the Queen, there was one very material circumstance, as natural for Lord Hervey to guess as for the Minister to be a little ashamed and reluctant to repeat, on which he was quite silent; a circumstance which the Queen afterwards told Lord Hervey, and which Sir Robert Walpole never knew Lord Hervey had been made acquainted with. For as the one from pride or shame had forborne to communicate, so the other in policy did not care to let his benefactor and friend have the mortification of knowing that what he wished should be a secret to everybody was not so to him. And though many people would have reasoned differently on this

occasion, and have acquainted Sir Robert Walpole with ¹⁷³³ what they had learned, in order to make a merit of their taciturnity afterwards, yet Lord Hervey judged otherwise, and looked upon this secret to be of the nature of some which all those concerned in them hate you more for having it in your power to tell, than they can love you for not making use of that power.

The circumstance concealed was this. When Sir Robert Walpole told the Queen the clamour against this Bill was grown to that height that there was no contending with it any longer, he said there were two ways of trying to appease it, the one by dropping the Bill, which would not be sure to quiet the commotions the prosecuting of it had caused; the other was by dropping the projector as well as the project, which, whatever bad consequences such yielding to clamour might have in futurity, would certainly have this immediate good effect, that for the present, at least, all troubles would subside, and everything be calm and still. What troubles the struggles for power among those who had raised these storms to subvert his interest might occasion in the Palace, and how headstrong this concession to a mob might afterwards make that mob in future administrations, were considerations, he said, which he would not suggest, for fear he might be thought to urge them as arguments for his own continuance in employment; whereas he was so far from desiring to be in Her Majesty's service, if she thought it was not for her service, that he should lay down and retire with all the satisfaction in the world; and, if Her Majesty thought it for the advantage of the King's affairs, or that it would facilitate in any manner the King's business in Parliament, that he was ready that very night to quit, and should never impute his disgrace to Her Majesty's want of kindness towards him, but merely to his own ill fortune. The Queen chid him extremely for having so ill an opinion of her as to think it possible for her to be so mean, so cowardly, and so ungrateful, as to accept of such an offer;

1733 and assured him that as long as she lived she would not abandon him. When Sir Robert Walpole made the same offer to the King, His Majesty (as the Queen told me) made the most kingly, the most sensible, and the most resolute answer that it was possible for a wise, a just, and a great prince to make, to the most able and to the most meritorious servant; but whether she dictated the words before he spoke them, or embellished them afterwards, I know not. As well as I can remember them, they were to this effect: that Sir Robert had served him honestly and faithfully; that His Majesty knew all this bustle was owing to personal enmity or contention for power in the administration of his affairs; that he knew Sir Robert Walpole's reason forconcerting the land-tax scheme was that it might be the glory of his reign to take off the land-tax, which had been a burden laid on the landed interest in consequence of the Revolution, and which never since the Revolution any prince had been able to remit; that it was true he had miscarried in that design, but that his having done so had made His Majesty not angry with him for failing in this undertaking, but with those who had obstructed it. He said he was very sensible Sir Robert Walpole could have had no interest of his own in concerting or pushing this scheme, and that since he had done it only for the honour and service of his master, that master would never forsake him, but that they should stand or fall together. This, as the Queen told me, was the King's answer to Sir Robert when he made him the offer of quitting; and that Sir Robert should be more reluctant to own to Lord Hervey that he had made this offer of resigning, than ready to boast of its being so received, I think was odd, but so it was.

When Lord Hervey went up to the drawing-room he saw Her Majesty had been weeping very plentifully; and found her so little able to disguise what she felt, that she was forced to pretend head-ache and vapours, and break up her quadrille party sooner than the usual hour.

When the drawing-room was over, the King, after dis- 1733
missing the rest of his servants, called Lord Hervey into
the Queen's bedchamber, and began with great eagerness
to ask him where he had been all day, whom he had seen,
and what he had heard, and how our friends and how our
foes both looked. Lord Hervey told him he found the most
zealous friends to the excise began to be of opinion that,
considering what had happened at this end of the town,
the clamour at the other grew too hot to be struggled with.
The King asked him what he meant by "the things that
had happened at this end of the town." Lord Hervey said
he meant only what was reported, and did not pretend to
say how far those reports were grounded upon truth.
"Why, what is reported?" "Since Your Majesty com-
mands me to tell you, I shall. It is reported, Sir, by the
enemies to this Bill, that several of the Cabinet Council
and several of Your Majesty's domestic servants have
asked audiences to let Your Majesty know that they will
not positively vote for the Bill; and the comment that is
made on this report is, that if those who have the honour
to serve Your Majesty in such near and high stations did
not know this declaration would not be displeasing to you,
they would certainly not have ventured, so explicitly at least,
to have made it. This being told and almost generally
believed, the dependence on so strong a party at the present
juncture under Your Majesty's roof has given the Opposi-
tion such spirits and such strength that it is my firm
opinion the Bill cannot be carried, and, consequently, that
the friends to it had better consent to the dropping it,
than fight till its enemies grow strong enough to reject it."

The King asked whom of his Council and his family
people named for having made these declarations. Lord
Hervey said several of those whom His Majesty, when he
had done him the honour to talk on this subject before,
had himself named as no well-wishers to the scheme; but
that the two that people talked most of at present, as they
were reckoned the last that had absolutely declared them-

1733 selves, were Lord Clinton and Lord Scarborough. The King replied with great warmth: "It is a lie; those rascals in the Opposition are the greatest liars that ever spoke. Clinton has been with me, but Scarborough never has mentioned the excise to me at all, and for these last five or six days he has kept out of my way. I have not so much as seen him, nor have any of my servants dared to tell me they would not do what I would have them."

The King, after walking about the room in great anger and disorder for some time, and saying several things with great vehemence that showed plainly he was both vexed and staggered, dismissed Lord Hervey and charged him to write an account next day, from the House of Commons during the debate, what face things wore, what turn they were like to take, and how both our friends and our foes behaved.

April 10. The petition of the City was presented the next morning, and attended by the citizens in a train of coaches that reached from Westminster to Temple Bar. The prayer of the petition was, that they might be heard by their counsel against the Bill. The debate upon it lasted till midnight, and though this was the strongest point for the Court that had yet been debated in the whole progress of the Bill, as it was contrary to the rules and orders of the House to comply with petitions of this nature against taxes that are going to be laid, yet even on this point the Court party was so weak that the rejection of this extraordinary demand was carried by a majority only of seventeen voices.

The Opposition was so elate on this victory (for such it was, properly speaking) that they concluded nothing less was to happen upon it than a total change of the Administration, commencing by the immediate dismissal and disgrace of Sir Robert Walpole, who was never more struck with any defeat or less able to disguise his being so than this night. He stood some time after the House was up, leaning against the table with his hat pulled over his eyes, some few friends with melancholy countenances

round him, whilst his enemies with the gaiety of so many 1733
bridegrooms seemed as just entering on the enjoyment of
what they had been so long pursuing.

As soon as the whole was over, Mr. Pelham went to the King, and Lord Hervey to the Queen, to acquaint them with what had passed. When Lord Hervey at his first coming into the room shook his head and told her the numbers, the tears ran down her cheeks and for some time she could not utter a word; at last she said "It is over, we must give way; but, pray, tell me a little how it passed." Lord Hervey said that without any partiality he could assure Her Majesty, in point of argument, reasoning, and good speaking, that the Court party had, without any comparison, entirely the victory in the debate; but that he thought this no comfort, since the only inference to be drawn from it was, how determined our foes and how faltering our friends must be when in such a point the one could venture so strenuously to attack and the other were reduced so faintly to defend us; but he said it was not to be wondered at that the numbers of the opponents to this Bill should increase when everybody now believed that the majority of the King's Council had ranged themselves in that class, and that my Lord Bolingbroke's party at St. James's was more numerous than at Dawley.¹ "A great many in the King's service, Madam, are said openly to have declared themselves against this measure, and many more are thought to have taken the quiet part of lying by only till things are ripe for a revolution in the ministry, at which juncture it is expected they will break forth and show themselves not less inveterate enemies to Sir Robert Walpole than the others, though they have had a little more caution in appearing so"; but thus much Lord Hervey said he would venture to affirm, that neither Sir Robert Walpole nor any minister who should succeed him would ever be able to carry on the King's business upon that foot; for if the subordinate ministers were to

¹Bolingbroke's country-house.

1733 play a safe game, by either underhand opposing or acting a lukewarm part in sustaining what was thought expedient for the King's service, in such cases, though the minister would always be the first sacrifice, yet the power of the Crown must in some degree suffer too; and what ruined the one must at the same time greatly distress the other. The Queen said he was certainly in the right; that discipline was as necessary in an administration as an army; that mutiny must no more go unpunished in the one than the other, and that refusing to march or deserting ought to be looked upon in the same light.

Whilst she was saying this the King (who had dismissed Mr. Pelham) came in, and the Queen made Lord Hervey repeat to the King all he had been saying to her. The King heard willingly, but that night said very little; he asked many questions, but was much more costive than usual in his comments upon the answers he received to them. However, when he asked Lord Hervey if he could remember some of those who had swelled the defection that day, as Lord Hervey repeated the following names, His Majesty tacked the following remarks to them: Lord James Cavendish, "a fool"; Lord Charles Cavendish, "he is half mad"; Sir William Lowther, "a whimsical fellow"; Sir Thomas Prendergast, "an Irish blockhead"; Lord Tyrconnel, "a puppy that never votes twice together on the same side." There were more, which I have now forgot, but something in the same style His Majesty had to say on every deserter that was named.

As soon as Lord Hervey was dismissed he went to supper at Sir Robert Walpole's, who had assembled about a dozen friends to communicate the resolution taken of giving up the Bill. After supper, when the servants were gone, Sir Robert opened his intentions with a sort of unpleased smile, and saying "This dance it will no farther go, and to-morrow I intend to sound a retreat; the turn my friends will take will be to declare they have not altered their opinion of the proposition, but that the clamour and

the spirit that has been raised makes it necessary to give ¹⁷³³ way, and that what they now do is not owning what they have done to be wrong, but receding for prudential reasons from what they still think as right as ever." On this text he preached for some time to this select band of his firmest friends, and then sent them to bed to sleep if they could.

On the morrow, when the order of the day for the ^{April 11} second reading of the Tobacco Bill was read, Sir Robert got up and, after a very long and artful speech, proposed the putting it off for two months. The anti-excise party, not satisfied with this victory, but flushed with conquest, insolent in their success, and solicitous to push their triumph, said it was not sufficient to drop such a Bill in this soft manner; that so wicked an attack upon the liberties of British subjects ought to be treated in a different manner; that it ought to be stigmatized with every mark of ignominy that could be put upon it; that rejecting it in the most peremptory manner was the part which it became a House of Commons, jealous of the rights and tenacious of the liberties of the people, to act on this occasion; and that nothing less would appease the nation. Sir William Wyndham, therefore (who led the van of these florid declaimers on this popular topic), insisted on a previous question, whether the postponing question proposed by Sir Robert should be then put or not, and declared his reason for being against putting the main question then was because he intended afterwards to move that of rejection.

But this conduct, though it did not weaken their triumph without doors, lost them many friends within, several of those who had been originally for the Bill and were now come to wish it laid aside, being much more desirous to carry that point without a division, than to be forced to appear against what at first they had so zealously espoused. After a long debate, therefore, the opposing party, perceiving they had endeavoured to lead their new

1733 troops farther than they cared to advance, gave up the rejecting the Bill, and submitted without a division to the gentler method at first proposed by Sir Robert Walpole of postponing the farther consideration of it for two months.

The anti-excise mob, who had filled the lobby and Court of Requests rather fuller to-day than any other in which this affair had been under consideration, followed the example of their friends within doors, and with correspondent insolence in their demeanour greeted every member as he passed whom they knew to have been for the excise with ironical thanks, hissing, hallooing, and all other insults which it was possible to put upon them without proceeding to blows.

Brigadier Churchill and Lord Hervey, having run this mercantile gauntlet, had both (though separately) the same thought, and concluded the agreeable distinctions paid to them would naturally be heaped sevenfold on their friend and patron. They both, therefore, stemmed this torrent back again, returned into the House, told Sir Robert what had passed, and prepared him for what, if he would expose himself, he must expect to meet. They desired him to avoid it as he had done the first night, and go through Lord Halifax's; but he said there was no end of flying from such menaces, and that the meeting dangers of this kind was the only way to put an end to them, reasoning, perhaps, as Suetonius says Cæsar was thought to do when he was desired to avoid giving opportunity to conspirators against his life: "Insidias undique imminentis subire semel confessum satius esse quam cavere semper" ("It is better once to confront danger than to be always avoiding it").

Surrounded, therefore, by Lord Ilay, Lord Hervey, Brigadier Churchill, his son, two or three more friends, and two servants, he presented himself to these rioters, who made so great a disorder, notwithstanding the protection of this circle immediately round him, and in spite of a lane of forty or fifty constables, who were placed there to

secure every member a free and unmolested passage, that 1733 between the pressings of the mob to insult him and the zeal of the civil magistrates to defend him, there was such jostling and struggling, that had anybody fallen down they must inevitably have been trampled to death. The oaken sticks and constables' staffs were so flippant over the heads of friends and enemies, without any possibility of distinction, that many blows were given and received at random. But nobody of the Walpole faction was hurt or wounded excepting one, Mr. Cunningham, a Scotchman, in the breast, Mr. Ned Walpole in the arm, and Lord Hervey on the forehead.

With much difficulty Sir Robert at last got to his coach and went home. Lord Hervey went to St. James's, stayed with the King and Queen two hours, and told them everything that had passed in the House, but said not one word of what had happened out of it, not knowing whether Sir Robert Walpole would think it most for his interest to complain of the injury or to sink the affront. Lord Hervey knew it would always be time enough to tell the story, but if once told there would be no recalling it; and therefore left it in Sir Robert's option to determine, as his own judgment and inclination should direct, whether it should be secreted or published.

The next morning early he went to Sir Robert Walpole *April 12* to acquaint him with the silent part he had acted, and his reasons for it. Sir Robert thanked him extremely, but said the resolution was taken to complain in the House of what had passed; and, pursuant to this resolution, this incident was so well managed, the insult to the House so artfully set forth, and every part so well acted by the *dramatis personæ* in this Parliamentary farce, that on the relation made first by Lord Hervey, then by Mr. Pelham, and then by Sir Robert Walpole, to the House, this accidental scuffle was treated as a deep-laid scheme for assassination, whilst the resentment against such proceedings was so well improved, and the whole thing taken up with so high

1733 a hand, that the House came *nemine contradicente* into three or four resolutions, that condemned, in the strongest terms, all actors, abettors, promoters, or encouragers of these riotous, tumultuous transactions; and, to crown all, a supplemental order was made by the House that the City members should carry copies of these resolutions to the Lord Mayor that he might communicate them throughout his jurisdiction. Sir John Barnard, one of the City members, having the day before declared that he wished this multitude at the doors of the House were ten thousand, and the citizens all along having fomented the riots and encouraged these applications to Parliament, it was particularly mortifying to them and their representatives to have their triumph on this occasion turned into a vote of censure; but as strong as the City party had been two days before in the House, the current was now turned, and the stream too strong against them for the rhetoric of any of their advocates and partisans to divert its course.

The illuminations, mobs, bonfires, and disorders that there had been in the City the night before, when Sir Robert Walpole, with a fat woman (meant for the Queen), were burnt in effigy, contributed almost as much as what had happened in the Court of Requests to exasperate everybody against the conduct of the citizens.

The general cry was that the liberty of speech, the freedom of debate, and the very essence of Parliament were at an end if the House of Commons suffered itself to be actuated by any foreign influence whatever, or permitted anything but their own wisdom to turn the balance in their determinations; that much had been formerly said in debates on the Pension Bill how necessary it was to ward against the pecuniary corrupt influence of the Crown, but that the intimidating influence of a mob at the doors of the House, though the other extreme, was equally destructive of that authority and independence which the Commons ought to maintain, and which was essential not only to their dignity as part of the legislature, but

essential also to the preservation of the constitution on the ¹⁷³³ free and flourishing foot upon which it now stood.

Lord Hervey in his speech said that if these insolent encroachments of the populace were suffered to grow and were given way to in this manner, if the opinion of the rabble was to be taken on the subject-matter of everything debated here, and their clamour, and not our judgment, to make decisions, in a little time he should expect to see Acts of Parliament passed in London as the Plebiscita were passed in Rome; and instead of the representatives of the people with decency and method considering what was proper and fit to be done, that he supposed he should see the Speaker at Charing-Cross or the stocks-market proposing laws to a tumultuous mob, who, like the Roman plebeians, would enact, rescind, promulgate, and repeal, make, and break laws, just as the caprice of their present temper and the insinuations of their present leaders should instigate and direct. In short, this incident had given such a turn to the spirit of the Commons, that the Court party this day might have done whatever they would. But as this was the first time, so I believe one may venture to say it will be the last that ever a first minister found any advantage from being mobbed.

As it was universally believed that this riot was fomented by the upper sort of citizens, and put in practice by the inferior, so the names of merchants and traders that had all this winter, whenever they were mentioned, put the whole House in an uproar with zeal in their favour, had now lost all their virtue. The Commons, and the country gentlemen in particular, grew jealous of their own power, were afraid of the ill effects that might attend the letting any class of men in to share it, and began to think it was high time to curb that spirit which they had contributed to raise.

Besides this, as there were many who had been for dropping this Bill merely from apprehending the danger of riot and clamour, many more who, without being enemies to Sir Robert Walpole, were against it from

1733 prudential views to their elections, and because they did not dare to be for it; so both these classes of people, the first from a desire to discountenance tumult, and the other from regard to him whom they had opposed with regret, were ready to join in any resolutions that should demonstrate their opposition to the Bill not to have been personal or to raise clamour, and that should show their dislike was to the project and not to the projector.

The two consular powers of the opposition, Sir William Wyndham and Mr. Pulteney, were forced not only to give a tacit assent to these resolutions of the House, but in order to disbelieve themselves, and wipe off any suspicion of their having been any way underhand concerned in encouraging this proceeding, were also obliged, though with great reluctance, to make their pride bend to their prudence, and publicly disclaim these measures, declaring their abhorrence of such actions, and how readily they would join in the punishment of any who could be found concerned in them; and Mr. Pulteney with very obedient tears in his eyes, protested that, so far from countenancing such villainy, had he suspected anything of this kind designed, he himself would have offered to be the guard of Sir Robert Walpole's person. Sir John Barnard and Perry the tobacconist, the two tribunes of the London Plebeians, were also reduced to join in the general disavowal of these proceedings, and tears being in fashion, Perry's went a step still farther than Pulteney's and flowed down his cheek.

The news of this day's work in the House pleased extremely at St. James's and in my opinion turned the scale, which had been trembling in the balance for the three preceding days, in favour of Sir Robert. The King had certainly, with as much corporal bravery as ever man possessed, as little mental resolution as the most timorous woman. He did not at all like the air of being forced to change his Minister or his measures, and at the same time from the opinion he had of the caprice, violence and extravagancies of the English nation he had nothing in his head

but insurrections, rebellions, revolutions, the Pretender, ¹⁷³³ etc., and joined to all these apprehensions, had the additional uneasiness of fearing the advantage Lady Suffolk¹ would make of these disturbances, by telling the King it was what she had always believed and often told him would one day happen from his supporting a man so universally odious to the people. However, this suspicion of the Queen's, though I make no doubt of its presenting itself frequently to Her Majesty's thoughts, was one she never mentioned at least to me; though she owned her mind had been so agitated and her head and heart both so full, that she had not slept these three last nights. She could not refrain from weeping while she said this, and intimated strongly that his valiant Majesty had not rested much better. My own firm opinion is that if it had not been for this accident in the Court of Requests, which a little deadened the clamour against Sir Robert and consequently relieved His Majesty from some of his apprehensions, a change in the ministry would infallibly have followed the dropping of the Bill. But whether Sir Robert would have been thrown out of the window and his neck broken in this conflagration or whether he would have been let down gently on a featherbed, whether he would have been delivered up to the fury of his pursuers or whether those pursuers would have relinquished their prosecution of his life and fortune and compounded for the inheritance of his employments and his power, whether Tories or discontented Whigs would have been brought in or whether a motley amphibious Ministry of both would have been jumbled together for a time, I pretend not to say or to guess. But from this day the clouds that had obscured Sir Robert's sky, at least in St. James's, began to disperse, and this April storm soon blew over. This very night in the Queen's apartment the King with great gaiety told Lord Hervey he heard a list had been already made by the scoundrels in the Opposition of his

¹Mrs. Howard's husband had succeeded to the peerage in 1731.

1733 new Ministry. Lord Hervey said he believed they thought themselves sure of the booty but did not hear they had already divided it. "Yes," replied the King, "Carteret and Wyndham were to be my two Secretaries of State, Pulteney my Chancellor of the Exchequer and First Commissioner of the Treasury, Sands Speaker, Rushout Secretary at War, Winchilsea Lord Chamberlain; and that little fool Harry Vane was to be my Vice-Chamberlain. I should have made a fine charge for that silly cur."

Lord Hervey bowed, and the King in a great fury said: "A pack of rascals, my business would have been finely done by a parcel of knaves, and fools, and republicans and liars. Besides if I had been reduced to the necessity of changing my Ministers how do those puppies know but that I would have left them still in the lurch and taken in the Tories. I know one of my family supported by a Tory Administration would be but lame work, and Jacobites round the throne of a King that sits there upon the revolution establishment and principles must in time grow very troublesome and dangerous, but if I was pressed, I had rather try to oblige a whole party. Some of which too perhaps are as little for any King as they are for the Pretender, and would only make use of the favour of the Crown to destroy the power of it." The latter part of this reflection was so unlike the King's usual manner of thinking or expressing himself that Lord Hervey, as the King walked backwards and forwards, could not help turning his eyes towards the Queen in a manner that made her understand his meaning, though she took snuff, looked another way, and pretended not to mind him. As to most of the other particulars in these royal audiences and conferences, I recite them merely because the generality of readers have so much a greater curiosity to hear the words of Kings than of other people that they are amused with the very same things from lips of that consequence, that would lay them to sleep related from any other. But a scrap of royal conversation, like a rag of a

royal garment, contracts a value from that stamp when if 1733 this had been uttered or that worn by a person of less eminence the one had never been remembered, nor the other ever preserved.

For a fortnight after the Excise Bill was dropped all the newspapers were filled with nothing but accounts from every great town in England of rejoicing, burning effigies, letters of thanks from the constituents of those who had voted against the Bill to their representatives, and every other circumstance that could show the universality of the people's enmity to the scheme and its abettors, as well as their joy on its miscarriage and their gratitude to its opponents. This joy was carried so far at Oxford, that for three nights together, round the bonfires made there, the healths of Ormond, Bolingbroke, and James the Third were publicly drank, and so much treason talked, and so many disorders committed, by the students as well as the townsmen, that the Vice-Chancellor's authority, joined to that of the civil magistracy, were hardly sufficient to quell the tumults.

These treasonable riots, and mixing the Crown in the present disputes, gave the friends of the minister an opportunity of saying that the excise scheme was not the real cause of all the clamour that sheltered itself under that pretence, but that the disaffected to this Government took this occasion, and made that their plea, for raising disturbances and kindling feuds in the kingdom, by which they hoped to distress if not to overturn the Government.

In the meantime Sir Robert Walpole, having experienced how dangerous it had been to suffer his enemies at Court to be talking and plotting against him with impunity, and to leave them at quiet in their employments whilst they were making him so uneasy in his, resolved to show that the lenity, indolence, fear, or policy, that had hitherto prevailed so far as to make him acquiesce under such usage, was now at an end, and that he was able both to discern and punish all those who ventured to treat him

1733 in this manner. The first sacrifices made to these his new maxims of government were Lord Chesterfield and Lord Clinton. The Duke of Grafton was sent from the King the *April 13* very next day after the House of Commons came to those resolutions concerning the riots to demand the Steward's staff of the first; and one of the Secretaries of State was at the same time ordered to write to the last, to let him know the King had no farther occasion for his services either as Lord of the Bedchamber or Lord Lieutenant of Devonshire. It was as much a matter of wonder in the town, how so insignificant a creature as Lord Clinton, when he was dismissed from Court, could contrive to make himself considerable enough to be turned out, as it was at his entrance there how he had been thought of consequence enough ever to be taken in. A more moderate genius could not be found in all the hereditary possessors of ennobled folly throughout the whole peerage, his kinsman, my Lord Falmouth, not excepted. He was a man of a mean aspect, a meaner capacity, but meanest of all in his dialect and his inclinations; his whole conversation was a heap of vulgarisms, both as to sentiment and expression, and his only mark of thinking or liking was his pursuit and love of money.

Lord Chesterfield wrote the King a letter next morning, of which he gave me the following copy:

LONDON, 16th April, 1733.

SIR,—Eighteen years uninterrupted and inviolable attachment to Your Majesty makes it (I hope) unnecessary for me to trouble you now with my professions of my zeal for Your Majesty's service or my duty for your person. I have given proofs of both at a time when it was not my interest to do so, and though, since Your Majesty's happy accession to the Throne, my duty and my interest have been more consistent, I may say with truth that I have constantly pursued the former without any regard to the latter.

To one in such disposition it could not but be the greatest uneasiness to find that he lay under Your Majesty's displeasure; and nothing less than the consciousness of not deserving it was necessary to comfort me. My invariable intention of serving Your Majesty

has (I thank God) been my only crime. In that view singly, I 1733 declared at all events against a measure that would so inevitably lessen the affections of Your Majesty's subjects to you and in consequence your tenderness to them. I thought of it as the whole nation did; I should have acted as many of Your Majesty's most faithful servants would have done; and I sincerely wish for Your Majesty's sake only that the impracticability of the scheme had been well considered, before the unpopularity of it had been so fatally experienced.

Your Majesty's interests and those of the nation, when fairly and disinterestedly represented to you, will always be found inseparable. I shall to the end of my life pursue them both with the same zeal that I have hitherto done and convince Your Majesty (whatever your present impressions of me may be) that no change of situation, no accident of life shall be able to shake that zeal and duty with which I shall ever be, etc.

The King sent him no answer; and Sir Robert Walpole, to whom the King showed it, and who did not know I had seen it, told me that Chesterfield had written the King a letter, extremely laboured, but not well done. I mention this to show insincerity or [MS. torn and word illegible].

As to his pushing at Lord Chesterfield, and at this juncture, he was certainly not to be blamed for it, since it was indeed full time for Sir Robert Walpole, if he had power, to make some examples among those who distressed and opposed him at Court in order to show it. For hitherto, in this reign, all his known ill-wishers faring as well as his friends, it became the interest of everyone to be thought his foe, since without losing them anything in present, that character secured them a reversionary interest in case of a change with those who should succeed. As affairs now stood at Court, almost all the great offices and employments were filled up by men who, though they did not directly vote against the present measures, yet took the liberty of talking very freely against them; and neither had, nor desired to be thought to have, any great cordiality towards Sir Robert. The Dukes of Devonshire, Grafton, and Newcastle were the only three I can name who either

1733 professed themselves his friends or acted as such—a triumvirate whose friendship was much more considerable from their titles and estates than from any assistance their judgment was capable of giving in private council, or their oratory in public assemblies. The two first were mutes, and the last often wished so by those he spoke for, and always by those he spoke to.

As to Lord Harrington, the other Secretary of State, he had reduced himself to a state of annihilation; he was absolutely nothing, nobody's friend, nobody's foe, of use to nobody, and of prejudice to nobody. There was something very singular both in this man's acquisition of fame and his loss of it; for when he was at the Court of Spain, without doing anything there that might not have been transacted by a common clerk, all parties at home flattered and courted him. People talked, heard, and read of nothing but Lord Harrington; and as soon as he came over, and was made Secretary of State, the sound of his name began to die away. He was forgotten in his eminence, seen every day, and never mentioned.

As for my Lord President of the Council, the contemptible Earl of Wilmington, he hated Sir Robert in his heart, and though he did not dare to speak against him himself, approved and caressed those that did; and if anybody else should have courage enough to attack him, or strength enough to pull him down, no man in England wished better success to such an undertaking than Lord Wilmington, or would be more ready to trample on Sir Robert if it prevailed.

The Duke of Dorset, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was in the same situation and way of thinking as my Lord President. He hated Sir Robert Walpole, without having received any injury, and wished him out, without proposing any advantage from it; for let who would succeed him, the Duke of Dorset or Lord Wilmington could not be more, and in all probability would have been less. When Lord Chesterfield was turned out he said people might imagine

his conduct had been rash and indiscreet, but that if my ¹⁷³³ Lord Wilmington and the Duke of Dorset had not acted like real knaves, he had not behaved like a seeming fool. This declaration, as well as many other occurrences at that time, made people imagine that these two men had given great hope, if not strong assurances, to the opposing party, that when matters were ripe for a revolt they would join them.

The Duke of Argyll, who was at this time Master of the Ordnance, Governor of Portsmouth, and had a regiment of horse, was not better satisfied than the rest. As he was an ambitious man, he envied Sir Robert Walpole; as he was a military man, he disliked him; and as a Scotchman, he hated him. His pride made him detest the possessor of any power superior to his own; and as the opinion of his own weight and merit, joined to an insatiable avarice, made him think he never could have his due in honorary employments or enough in lucrative ones, so he was always asking and always receiving yet never obliged and never contented.

The Duke of Bolton's being out of humour and Sir Robert Walpole's declared enemy, considering what he held from the favour of the Court under this administration, would have been more extraordinary than all the rest, if it had not been for that great and common solution for the many otherwise unaccountable riddles in people's conduct, which was his being a great fool; but this explains a multitude of difficulties in judging of multitudes of people, as well as the Duke of Bolton, for when one can once, without hesitation, pronounce a man absolutely a fool, to wonder at any of his actions afterwards, or seek a reason for them, is only putting oneself in his class; and I am no more surprised to see an interested fool act against his interest, than I am to see a blind man go out of his way. The Duke of Bolton was at this time Governor of the Isle of Wight, Ranger of the New Forest, and had a regiment; yet with all this the Duke of Bolton was not

1733 satisfied. For, being as proud as if he had been of any consequence besides what his employments made him, as vain as if he had some merit, and as necessitous as if he had no estate, so he was troublesome at Court, hated in the country, and scandalous in his regiment. The dirty tricks he played in the last to cheat the Government of men, or his men of half-a-crown, were things unknown to any Colonel but his Grace, no griping Scotsman excepted. As to his interest in Parliament by the members he nominally made there, these were all virtually made by the Court, as they were only made by him in consequence of the powerful employments he held from the Court; so that the Court vesting him with this authority and then considering him for it was a little like what divines tell us of God Almighty's conduct to good Christians, who first ask Him for grace, then receive it from Him, and are then rewarded for having it.

In all this excise affair the Prince in public acted a silent, quiet part, and Dodington, as his first minister, followed an example which in all probability was set him by his own dictates. However, by Dodington's never speaking in the House for the excise, and by Mr. Townshend (domestic favourite and Groom of the Bedchamber to the Prince) voting against it, and by the distinctions the Prince showed on all occasions to Lord Cobham, Lord Stair, Lord Chesterfield, and all that were the most violent against this scheme, it was not difficult to guess what His Royal Highness's opinion of it was, or which way his wishes pointed. The King (as Sir Robert Walpole told me) made him the offer of obliging the Prince to turn out Mr. Townshend, which Sir Robert refused. He at the same time told me, that if it were not for fear of making a breach between the King and his son, he both could and would turn out Dodington; "for this," added he, "is the second time that worthy gentleman has proposed to rise by treading upon my neck."

But notwithstanding this disposition of most of the great officers of the Crown towards Sir Robert Walpole,

and notwithstanding the unpopularity which all ministers ¹⁷³³ incur who have been long vested with power, notwithstanding the particular run against him in the country on account of the excise scheme, and notwithstanding his defeat in the prosecution of it in Parliament, yet the absolute declaration of the Crown in his favour, by these early and explicit marks, Lord Chesterfield's and Lord Clinton's dismissals, saved the Ministry; for this put a damp on people's expectations of a change, which expectations, joined to the clamours of the disengaged, and the vigorous attacks of those who reckoned themselves next oars, would, without this express declaration of the Crown to support Sir Robert, have infallibly got the better of him.

Many thought that the Queen imagined her power with the King depended at this time on her being able to maintain Sir Robert Walpole, consequently that she looked on his cause as her own, and thought their interests were so inseparably interwoven, that whatever hurt the one must strike at the other, but these conjectures were mistaken. The Queen knew her own strength with the King too well to be of this opinion, or to apprehend the loss of her power would have been the consequence of the loss of his. The future Ministry would certainly have been of her nomination, in case of a change, as much as the present, and if they had subsisted, as much at her devotion, for had she found them less so, their reign would not have been long.

But it is very probable her pride might be somewhat concerned to support a minister looked upon in the world as her creature, and that she might have a mind to defeat the hope Lady Suffolk might have conceived of being able to make any advantage of the King's seeing himself reduced by the voice of the people to dismiss a man whom her private voice had so long condemned. Besides this, both the King and the Queen were possessed with an opinion that Sir Robert Walpole was, by so great a superiority, the most able man in the kingdom, that he

1733 understood the revenue, and knew how to manage that formidable and refractory body, the House of Commons, so much better than any other man, that it was impossible for the business of the Crown to be well done without him.

However, the Opposition having gained this victory over him and his excise scheme, notwithstanding the obstinacy of the Court in maintaining him, thought they should still carry their point and force the Court to give him up, provided they could show the King that the representatives of the people were as much against this man in their hearts as the people themselves, and that the Parliament was not better inclined to him than the mob.

In order to effect this, a motion was made in the House by the Opposition for appointing a committee of one-and-twenty persons to be chosen by ballot to examine into the frauds committed in the Customs.

This motion Mr. Pelham unwarily gave into. For the very same people to deny a committee being appointed to examine into these frauds which, to justify the excise scheme, they had represented so notorious, was certainly impossible; but what the Court party ought to have insisted on was that this committee should be a committee of the whole House—they ought to have stuck to that, and not at this juncture to have trusted the determination of so important an affair to the dark juggle of a ballot.

The consenting to this motion was an imprudence in the Court party, but not a greater than that committed by those who might have reaped the advantage of it, for, when this ballot was agreed to, the opponents, instead of lying by for this battle in masquerade which was to be fought the week after, led their troops to fight in the interim with bare faces on a petition from the druggists to relax the excise laws, on which question the anti-courtiers were beaten by a majority of a hundred.

I shall say nothing more on what passed previous to this ballot, or what was thought of it, or what was expected

from it, because I cannot explain it better than by giving *1733* a copy of Sir Robert Walpole's speech to the Whigs, who, the night before this ballot, were all summoned to a *April 23* meeting at the Cockpit, in order to agree on the list that should be sworn in by them the next day. As I only took this speech down from my memory, and never saw one word of it but that night at the Cockpit, it will be very imperfect, and must want much of the energy and many of the ornaments with which it was pronounced. I begged Sir Robert to give me a copy, but he assured me, upon his word and honour, that he had never put one syllable of it in writing.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE'S SPEECH.

GENTLEMEN,—The reason of your being assembled here is to consider of a ballot appointed for to-morrow, to choose a committee to examine into the frauds and abuses in the customs to the prejudice of trade and diminution of the revenue. These are the words of the resolution of the House on Thursday, and this the pretence for appointing this committee. The true reason of this question having been proposed to the House nobody in this company, and few people out of it, I believe are at a loss to guess. Late incidents in Parliament have so flushed those who generally differ in opinion with this company with such hopes of success, and put them upon pushing what they call their triumph so far, that their common and open boastings are that they had but to procure this ballot to show all the world that though they always voted in a minority barefaced, yet whenever there should be an opportunity for the majority to show their hearts and their sentiments without restraint, that all mankind would then perceive that the present measures were as much disapproved by those who were forced from secret and indirect influence to give a sanction to them, as by those who always avowedly and openly appeared in opposition to them. If I said this was their only view, I should misstate the case, because I believe they did think that those who generally differ from them might possibly have done so in this proposition, and that then it would have appeared in the votes throughout all the kingdom that those concerned in the Government and called the Court party, after pretending to set a scheme on foot for the correction of fraud which they had so loudly complained of, did, as soon as inspection into those frauds was

1733 proposed, refuse to come into that proposition, and put a negative upon it; the consequence of which would have been that the worthy gentlemen who have made it their business to traduce and defame those concerned either in forming or promoting this scheme would have said it was very plain from the proceeding that the frauds were not so great as, to serve the present turn, they had been represented; or that in reality the design of those who had complained of them was not to apply a remedy to them. This was the consequence they hoped from the proposal if it was rejected, and the other was the advantage they expected to make of its being received. Designing, therefore, to avail themselves of the ferment in which they had put the nation, and reluctant to let that dangerous storm they had so industriously blown up subside, this question was, at a general meeting of their amphibious party, proposed and agreed to. When it came to be offered in the House, whether it was from accident, from surprise, or from judgment, that it was given in to, I shall not inquire, nor is that inquiry material, or the subject of your present consideration. But when it passed *nemine contradicente*, they did flatter themselves their party was so strong in the House that they should be able to carry their list modelled and filled up in what manner they thought fit. Their lists, therefore, were settled and agreed to that night, and given out in the House next morning. Elate with what had already happened, and sanguine in the expectation of what was to happen, they had already given out that the indiscretion of their adversaries in permitting this pitched battle in masquerade had fixed their victory and your defeat, and they still (vainly, I hope) imagine that you are to be tricked or cajoled into a declaration, under your own hands, that for the six years that this Parliament has sat you have been constantly aiding, abetting, avowing, and supporting men and measures which you were glad of the first opportunity to prove you thought ought not to be supported, encouraged, or pursued, and that you would show you disapproved the one and wished destruction to the other. This, if they were to carry their list, must and will be the interpretation put upon your conduct; and the next step they will take will be to arm this committee with such powers as shall throw the conduct of everything into the hands of those who compose it, and, consequently, delegate the whole sway and authority of the House of Commons to the particulars of this list. However, the ill success of the druggists' petition made them repent their precipitation in publishing their list, and showed them they had flattered themselves and proceeded on a deception when they thought they were strong enough to carry

that list in the manner it now stands and that the complexion of this Parliament was enough changed to desire to fight under the banner of such leaders. 2733

When I have said this, Gentlemen, I desire you would cast your eyes on that list, and examine one moment the names of which it is composed. There are ten of the highest denomination of Tories, ten discontented Whigs, and one who has acted so often in both these characters that it is hard to say what he is. The conjunction and union of such men, almost as different in their views and principles from one another as from those to whom I am speaking, shows plainly that to break into the Whig party and overturn the present system of Government there is nothing that any of these opponents will not do, and that there is no association they will not enter into, though never so unnatural, to prosecute that main point and play the power out of the hands in which it is at present lodged into those where they wish to place it. But let not the firmness and resolution of your adversaries so far surpass yours as to make it appear that they have virtue and abilities to attack you with, which you want for your defence. Let them see they have to do with such as are neither blind to the designs of their enemies nor to the paths of their own interest; that you have too great a regard for the peace and prosperity of your country to commit the care of it to such heads; that you do not desire to consign the Government of this kingdom to a set of men, half of which, if they act on any principles, act on a principle to overturn the Government, whilst the other half are at least ignorantly promoting the ends and playing the game of the enemies to that Government and Establishment to which they profess themselves well-wishers and friends, and have no way left to excuse their conduct, whilst they are every day and every hour consulting with Jacobites, taking directions from Jacobites, and promoting Jacobite measures, but barely professing that they mean no advantage or assistance to the Jacobite cause; and consequently reduce their behaviour to this option, that they must either confess they have been overreached and induced to do what they do not mean, or that they do really mean that which they dare not own.

This, Gentlemen, is the true state of the present case and the true character of this motley party you have to deal with. Patriotism is the preamble to all their harangues, patriotism is the rudder by which they pretend to steer all their actions; but the contention of this ballot is in plain and intelligible language for dominion, for dominion between Whigs and Tories, and the sole design of it is to feel the pulse of this Parliament, whether they wish for a change or not.

1733 And though some may pretend the contest lies between contented and discontented Whigs, yet let anybody examine the adverse list; let them see whether it is composed of discontented Whigs or equal parts of Tories and such as call themselves Whigs whilst they are doing all the work of those who profess quite contrary principles; let them reflect, in the unnatural assemblage of this opposition, who has taken the lead in all debates and in all measures, Whigs or Tories; let them consider who has dictated and who has governed whilst they have been the minority, and, consequently, who would govern were they to become the majority; let gentlemen, I say, reflect on these few self-evident truths: and then let them say whether the present contention for power is between Whigs and Whigs, or between Whigs and Jacobites.

Nobody can imagine that the Whigs in opposition could be so weak as not to know that some names inserted in this list would do them more hurt, and fight our battle more strongly, than any arms we could provide for ourselves. How then came they inserted? Why, the Jacobites insisted, and the Whigs were forced to give way. And if in these preliminaries to dominion, if in these dawning of power (as they call the present incidents, and believe them to be), if in this first step, I say, the Jacobites assumed authority and carried their point, can it be imagined but what they were able to do in a list for this committee, they would be able to do in a list for an administration; and if they found themselves at the helm there, does anybody that hears me want to be told what must become of the Whig cause, party and principle? What must become of all the Revolution measures that have been pursued with so much steadiness and maintained with so much glory for above forty years? What must become of this Government and this Family, and the true freedom, liberty, welfare, and prosperity of this country?

I shall avoid everything that is personal as far as I can. As for myself, I am but one, and what becomes of one man is of very little importance to the public or to any class of men; but as I have always fought on Whig principles, I will never desert them; as I have risen by Whigs, I will stand or fall with them; if I am not to be supported or cannot be supported by them, I scorn to ask or take support from any other party, and will never condescend to seek refuge among those to whom I have so often bid defiance; it is in Whig principles I have lived, and in Whig principles I will die; it is by the assistance and favour of Whigs, joined to a great deal of undeserved good fortune, that I am raised to the height where I now stand; in gratitude I have always to the utmost of my power obliged, main-

tained, and favoured that party to whom I could give nothing, 1733 because I owed everything, and to whom, if my situation enables me to be useful and serviceable, I was not conferring obligations but paying debts, and returning those kindnesses which I had first received. I am now therefore, Gentlemen, not pleading my own cause, but the cause of the Whig party. I entreat you for your own sakes, for the sake of this Government and this Family, for the sake and for the cause of liberty, to exert yourselves with spirit and with unanimity on this occasion, that you may defeat and render abortive the scheme of those malevolent spirits that for want of hope and prospect of success have been long dormant, and have now taken this favourable opportunity, as they think it, to break forth; but with you it lies, and in your power it is, to disperse these hopes as fast as they gathered, and to render that assistance ineffectual with which the rage, malevolence, disappointment, and revenge, of some deserters from your cause have furnished these common enemies of this party, this country, and this establishment.

I have often borne the reproach of many here present for having been instrumental in opening the spring to all the disturbances that have for some years last past overflowed this kingdom—I mean, for contributing to the restoration of one¹ who has made the lenity, indulgence, and mercy of this country the means of working its disquiet, if not its destruction; who has returned such evil for the good he has received, that nothing less will content him than the ruin of those who prevented his by softening the justice of an offended nation into mercy and by converting its wrath into forgiveness. At the time that I contributed to this step taken by Parliament, matters were so circumstanced that the thing was unavoidable; I will not by a fruitless retrospect prove to you now, Gentlemen, that it was so; but give me leave to say so much in mitigation of this much repented fault of mine, so much in excuse of the share and part I had in this measure, that my reason for submitting to it was that I did not then believe it was possible for any individual in human nature to be entirely devoid of all shame, truth, or gratitude; and unless the man I mean, and whom I need not name, had been so, and proved himself so, the consequences that have followed from this error committed at that time in his favour could never have happened. But let not those by whom I am blamed on this head be so inconsistent with themselves as to lodge additional power in those hands which have already abused the favour of their former benefactors; and do not you blindly and inconsistently contribute now to let the

¹Bolingbroke.

1733 Legislature by proxy receive laws from him, whose crimes have made you divest him of that share which the Crown once thought fit to give him in all the deliberations of Parliament.

I need say no more, I believe, to induce you to reject a list of his nomination; and all I will add in commendation of this now put into your hands is, that to execute the purpose mentioned in the Resolution no men can be fitter than your own friends. That the twenty-one here named are no more fit for this distinction than every one of those to whom I am speaking, I readily allow; that you are all equally worthy of having your names there, is certain; but since it is necessary, by the nature and circumstances of this affair, that only twenty-one should be selected, and that the success of the whole depends on your unanimity on this occasion, I do hope and desire that none upon any motive whatever will garble this list, or alter any name in it, but that you will all be firm, true, zealous, and unanimous.

This speech had so good an effect on those to whom it was addressed, that for two or three days there seemed to be a resurrection of that party spirit which had so long been dormant that most people imagined it was quite extinct; and the next day in the House, where the industry of both parties had contributed to bring above five hundred members, the Court list was carried by a majority of ninety,¹ most of the lists on both sides being entire.

This was the decisive and final stroke in the House of Commons this Session, for the day after this ballot-struggle was over most of the members decamped into the country.

However, as there had been a strong party made against the ministry in the House of Lords, in case the Excise Bill had come there, those who had been at the trouble of working this defection, since they were disappointed of showing their strength and the good effects of their cabals on that occasion, began to look out for some other point to squabble upon.

An inquiry into the state of the South Sea Company was the subject chosen, and the reason of its being chosen was Lord Scarborough's having declared the last year

¹ Eighty-five.

that, as there were great murmurs in the world against 1733 those who had been concerned in the management of the great moneyed companies, and doubts arising in the minds of the proprietors with regard to the value of their property there, in order to ease those doubts, to quiet the clamours, and let people know what they had to depend upon, whenever a scrutiny of these matters should be proposed by Parliament, he should be strenuously for it; and if any fraud was proved on those who had been intrusted with the management of any of these companies, that no one should go farther than he would towards the punishment of such delinquents and procuring satisfaction to those who had been defrauded.

This declaration was casually and digressively thrown out by Lord Scarborough when the affair of the Charitable Corporation was under consideration the year before, but it was too explicit not to pin him down when anything of this nature should be proposed, to be for it.

The true and short state of this Company was this. The annual ship, trading to the South Seas by virtue of the treaty with Spain, was by that treaty confined to be of a measure not exceeding 500 tons; whatever, therefore, she carried beyond that measure was an infraction of the treaty and forfeiture of the privilege allowed by it. But as the Directors of the South Sea Company found means to evade this treaty by carrying on a clandestine and illicit trade, so they cheated Spain by carrying merchandise and effects to a greater weight than they had a right to do by treaty; and they cheated the Company by selling the goods of their own private trade first, and leaving those of the Company to be disposed of at any price that could be got for them after the best of the market was over. Besides this, if any goods were damaged, or any were left unsold, or if any loss whatever was sustained, it was always put to the account of the Company, by which means the Company was never any year the better and was often the worse for having any trade thither at all. This was so great a hardship

1733 upon the proprietors of the £16,000,000 of South Sea stock (for that was their capital), that it was not wonderful they should complain.

The reason the ministry gave for opposing an inquiry into the affairs of the Company (though they did not pretend to be ignorant of these facts) was that though a scrutiny of this nature might be a private benefit to the proprietors of the stock, yet it would be a national loss, and consequently that it was not advisable for the legislature to unveil all this scene of mingled iniquity, but to let their national policy prevail over their personal justice, and permit a set of annual rascals to cheat the Company without being punished, in order to let England cheat Spain without being discovered.

But besides this particular reason Sir Robert Walpole had another general one (and the weakest part of his character and policy in my opinion), which was on all occasions, let the wrong be never so extensive, or the circumstances of it never so flagrant, to oppose all Parliamentary inquiries. He pursued this maxim from a fear of making this retrospective manner of inquiry, by the frequency of it, so familiar to Parliament, that one time or other it might, in any reverse of fortune and by the rage of party, affect himself, his family, and posterity; but by too strict an adherence to this principle he was often smeared with the filth of other people, and gave his enemies occasion to say that whoever had a mind to plunder the public or defraud particulars, they had but to keep out of the reach of the slow, uncertain hands of Westminster Hall, and let the notoriety of their crimes be never so manifest or the nature of them never so enormous, they would be secure of protection in Parliament whilst Sir Robert Walpole had any power there. His conduct in the affair of the Charitable Corporation, his opposition to a Bill for vacating the fraudulent sale of Lord Derwentwater's estate (by which the trustees for the sale of forfeited estates had cheated the public of an immense sum and by

acting in flat contradiction to an Act of Parliament), his ¹⁷³³ doing all he could to prevent the Parliament taking cognizance of the frauds committed by the Directors of the York Buildings Company; and his having actually put a stop to this inquiry into the South Sea affairs in the House of Commons, had given but too just grounds for these reflections to be thrown out against him, and left his friends too little room to justify him when his adversaries represented him as the universal encourager of corruption and the sanctuary of the corrupt.

But all his power was not sufficient to prevent this inquiry in the House of Lords. In the first place the objections against a general inquiry for prudential reasons with regard to Spain were of no weight to stop the inquiry now proposed by the House of Lords, because the clandestine trade carried on by the Directors in the annual ship was not the point the Lords proposed to go upon. The inquiry they proposed was to see in what manner the money arising from the sale of the forfeited estates of the South Sea Directors in 1720 had been disposed of, and whether the trustees, in the disposition they had made of it, had observed the rules prescribed by that Act of Parliament that gave the produce of these estates to the proprietors of the South Sea stock. In the next place, this objection being removed, the curiosity of mankind, the natural propensity of Parliaments to inquiry, and the defection on the excise scheme, and the pride of the young Lords, who had heard their whole body so long treated as ciphers, all combined to strengthen the party for going into this business, and filled the nets that had been spread by the opponents to catch these deserters; among which, besides those I have already mentioned, was the Duke of St. Alban's, one of the weakest men either of the legitimate or spurious brood of Stuarts; the Duke of Manchester, one as like him in his degree of understanding as of quality; Lord Pomfret, Master of the Horse, who pretended to be guided by his conscience in

1733 voting on an account he did not understand; Lord Falmouth, a blundering blockhead, who, in the two most material questions in this affair, spoke on one side and voted on the other, which gave occasion to some laughers to say that Lord Falmouth was determined to do the ministers all the hurt he could, for he spoke for them and voted against them; Lord Onslow ditto; and the Duke of Kent, who had been a hireling yes-and-no to a Court for forty years, and took it into his head at threescore to turn patriot. There were more, but none either of note or of any more consideration than all other ciphers are, which, though ciphers, increase materially every number to which they are added.

One other considerable deserter whom I had almost forgot to mention, who became such on the disposal of Lord Chesterfield's staff to the Duke of Devonshire, was Lord Burlington, then Captain of the Band of Pensioners, who, having solicited the Steward's staff and being refused it, threw up his own, together with the Lieutenancy of Yorkshire and Vice-Treasurership of Ireland, and listed himself immediately in the Opposition. It was at first reported about town that Lord Burlington declared his resignation did not proceed from any dislike to the measures of the Administration, or any quarrel with the ministers, but that his sole objection was to the King, who had told him a lie and broke his word, having promised him the first white staff that should be vacant, and yet given this to the Duke of Devonshire. The fact, I believe, was that the King, on giving Lord Burlington the Pensioners' staff, had said he hoped soon to put one into his hand that would be better worth his acceptance, which compliment Lord Burlington understood, or pretended to understand, as an absolute promise of the next white staff that should fall, and for the non-performance of this supposed promise he quitted the King's service. But though in great wrath he threw up all his own employments, yet he suffered his wife (who was Lady of the Bedchamber to the Queen)

still to keep hers, which made his conduct doubly simple, 1733 the first folly being without juster offence taken to quit his own post, and the second, when the first was committed, to let my Lady retain hers. Her desiring to do so did not proceed from too little pride, or the weakness of her resentment of her Lord's usage, but from a stronger passion of another kind. She liked the Duke of Grafton, and had she left the Queen she must have left her lover, or at least have lost many favourable opportunities which her employment gave her of seeing him and which her own ingenuity more than her lover's assiduity always improved. My Lady, therefore, choosing rather to mortify her pride than her inclination, and sacrificing the great lady to the woman, consulted her heart and not her character, her lover and not her husband, in this difficulty, and whilst she laudably in reality gave up everything to her passion, she seemed so meanly to have considered only her pin-money and her interest. It was plain from hence how differently the Steward's staff operated on the husband from the effect the Chamberlain's staff had on the wife; for as his Lordship's affection to the one was the occasion of his quitting the Court, my Lady's attachment to the other was the reason of her remaining there.

When the Duke of Devonshire was made Lord *May 3* Steward, Lord Lonsdale succeeded him in the employment of Privy Seal, which was a great mortification to all the Opposition, who had always reverenced Lord Lonsdale as a sort of political idol, and looking upon him as their own, had always spoken of him as a man of such rigid virtue and so true a judgment, that whatever measures he abetted he must approve, and whatever he approved must be right. He was certainly an honest and a sensible man; but his integrity inclined him now and then to be whimsical, and his understanding to be rather too disputative.

Between the time when it was debated whether the *May 5* House of Lords should call for papers and enter at all into

1733 the examination of the state of the South Sea Company, and the day fixed for the taking this matter into consideration, many Lords were closeted, schooled, and tampered with by the ministers, some by the King and more by the Queen. Among the latter was Hoadly, Bishop of Salisbury, whom she had sent for merely on suspicion, for he had never left the Court in any one vote, nor altered his public conduct, whatever he might have done in his private conversation, in any one particular. She told him that his enemies had been suggesting at St. James's that his affection for those for whom he used to profess the warmest attachment was quite changed, and that he had disapproved of everything that had been done lately, but particularly the excise scheme; that he had been very slack in his attendance in the House of Lords this winter; and that most people talked of him as one whom the opponents expected every day to declare himself of the number of deserters. But as she was determined never to believe so improbable a story merely on the credit of Court whispers, and that she thought the best way for people who wished and meant well to one another was always to have such misunderstandings explained before they gathered strength enough from repetition to grow into distrusts, so she had sent for him to let him know what she had heard, what many said, and what some believed.

The Bishop told Her Majesty that he was extremely surprised and not less concerned to find it was possible for her to have given so much regard to such groundless and malicious insinuations as to think they wanted any further contradiction than their own improbability, or to imagine that after so many years spent in the service of Her Majesty's family, and what was called the Whig cause, he should think it either for his credit or his interest in the close of his life to desert principles and men whom, in the most difficult times, he had always stood by and supported, manifestly against his interest on some occasions, and, if scandal and reproach can hurt a character,

as much to the hazard of his reputation on others. He said ¹⁷³³ if ever he had taken anything ill of Sir Robert Walpole, he could assure Her Majesty he thought it would be convincing the world he had deserved to be neglected and ill-used by him, if he were capable of forgetting all the former obligations he had had to him, because Sir Robert had not added another to which, perhaps, he might think he had had some title.¹ He further added that he thought Sir Robert Walpole the ablest and best minister the King could employ, and that, directly or indirectly, he had never had the least correspondence with any one of those who were thought to be his rivals for power; that he had no opinion of their capacity, no esteem for their principles, and was far from approving of their conduct; that as to the excise scheme, he always had and always should declare that he thought it a right one, intended for the good of the nation, and what would have proved so could it have been put into execution, but considering the light in which it had been represented to the people and in which they saw it, he had often wished that it had been dropped sooner; that Lord Hervey (with whom he had often spoken on this subject) could witness these to have been his sentiments, and to him he appealed for the truth of what he had now told Her Majesty.

"Lord Hervey (the Queen said) is extremely your friend, and speaks of you always with the greatest esteem; but on this subject I have not yet talked with him, and I assure you it was not by Sir Robert Walpole I was told anything I have now said to you." The Bishop said, "I wish, then, Your Majesty would have taken my justification from Sir Robert, since he was not my accuser; for Sir Robert must know that if I were knave enough to desire to belie all my professions and run counter to all my former conduct, I must be the weakest as well as the worst of mankind to throw myself now into the arms of a party to whom I must know I am not less obnoxious than he

¹ Alluding to the disposal of Durham, *ante*, p. 123.

1733 himself, and from whom I neither desire any favour nor can expect any quarter. And for my attendance in Parliament, he could have told Your Majesty, likewise, that it has been as constant this year as any other of my life, though, from a very bad state of health, no year of my life I have been less able to bear it." The Queen said she was extremely glad to hear this from his own mouth, for though she was too well acquainted with his worth to believe anything lightly to his disadvantage, "yet" (said she) "you know one is sometimes brought by one's own weakness and other people's wickedness to entertain suspicion of one's friends, which, in reason and justice, perhaps, one ought never to have given ear to."

The Bishop of Salisbury dined at Lord Hervey's lodgings the day after this conference, related it to him, and complained of Sir Robert Walpole, who undoubtedly, he said, had put the Queen upon talking to him in this manner, though she denied it; but he desired Lord Hervey to tell Sir Robert that he thought leaving any man or any party by whom one had been obliged, merely for not being more obliged, was so pitiful and dishonourable a part, that he might depend on him for any service he could do him as securely as ever, and that the more Sir Robert was pressed by his enemies and the harder things bore upon him, the surer he might be of any assistance he could give him.

Sir Robert Walpole went to see the Bishop soon after this, but behaved, as the Bishop told Lord Hervey, with a shyness, a coldness, and a reserve, that he had never had about him till after the Durham affair, and which from the time of that incident he had never been without.

May 8 It was in this interval, before the South Sea debate came on in the House of Lords, that the King communicated by a message to both Houses the intended marriage of his eldest daughter, the Princess Royal, to the Prince of Orange, a miserable match both in point of man and fortune, his figure being deformed and his estate not clear

£12,000 a year. It was, indeed, nominally double that, but ~~1733~~ the debts with which it was encumbered and other drawbacks reduced it to what I say. The turn, therefore, which good courtiers gave to this match, and which good subjects believed to be the case, was that the father, for the sake of this country, and the daughter, to ingratiate herself with the people, had consented to take up with this marriage to strengthen on contingencies the Protestant succession to this crown, and renew an alliance with a family and a name always dear to this nation—an alliance from which this nation had formerly received many benefits, and from which it would not now be liable to incur those disadvantages which, if ever the crown should be this Princess's inheritance, might attend her being married to a greater prince, who should have larger territories of his own.

This sounded so well that these fictitious merits were most eloquently displayed by all who spoke on this subject, either in the House of Lords or Commons, in order to make the fortune it was expected the Parliament should give, come so much the easier. But the true reason for this match was that there was, indeed, no other for the Princess in all Europe, so that Her Royal Highness's option was not between this Prince and any other, but between a husband and no husband; between an indifferent settlement and no settlement at all; and whether she would go to bed to this piece of deformity in Holland, or die an ancient maid immured in her royal convent at St. James's.

On one side, her pride made her often reflect on the parting with her guards, and several other abatements of state consequential to this match; on the other, she was to consider, whenever her father died, what a disagreeable situation she would be in, dependent on her brother's bounty for a maintenance, and exposed to the mercy of a sister-in-law, who, she knew from her brother's weakness, could not fail of being both his mistress and hers. These considerations led her to that determination which,

1733 grounded on private and personal reasons, was to wear the countenance of national and popular motives, whilst the good people of England were to express their gratitude for what was no obligation, and to extol that conduct as an heroic sacrifice to their interest, which was in reality a well-weighed consultation and prudential concern for her own.

The fortune given her by Parliament was £80,000, which, like her mother's jointure, and not very unlike her father's Civil List, was just double what had ever before been given on the like occasion. There was upwards of that sum at this time lying in the Exchequer, arising from the sale of St. Christopher's¹ and unappropriated by Parliament, which facilitated this generosity; the public on this occasion resembling some particulars, who are much more willing to give out of their stewards' hands than out of their own pockets, and ready enough to assign what they do not see, though they cannot part with what they do.

The Prince of Orange's figure, besides his being almost a dwarf, was as much deformed as it was possible for a human creature to be; his face was not bad, his countenance was sensible, but his breath more offensive than it is possible for those who have not been offended by it to imagine. These personal defects, unrecompensed by the éclat of rank or the more essential comforts of great riches, made the situation of the poor Princess Royal so much more commiserable; for as her youth and an excellent warm animated constitution made her, I believe, now and then remember she was a woman, so I can answer for her that natural and acquired pride seldom or never let her forget she was a Princess, and as this match gave her little hope of gratifying the one, so it afforded as little prospect of supporting the other.

There is one of two inconveniences that generally attends most marriages; the one is sacrificing all consideration of interest and grandeur for the sake of beauty and an agreeable person; and the other, that of sacrificing all

¹£93,000 from the sale of Crown Lands in St. Kitts-Nevis.

consideration of beauty and person to interest and ¹⁷³³ grandeur. But this match most unfortunately conciliated the inconveniences of both these methods of marrying, and consequently without the advantages of either. However, as she apprehended the consequences of not being married at all must one time or other be worse than even the being so married, she very prudently submitted to the present evil to avoid a greater in futurity.

The Princess Royal's personal beauties were a lively clean look and a very fine complexion, though she was marked a good deal with the small-pox. The faults of her person were that of being very ill made, though not crooked, and a great propensity to fat. She had good parts, a very uncommon quickness in learning, and spoke English, French, German, and Italian, like a native of the four countries; she played on the harpsichord and sung everything at sight, loved needle-work and painting, and did both extremely well. She rose very early, was many hours alone and never unemployed. She had more command of her passions than people generally have whose passions are so strong, so that at the same time that she was by nature as prompt as her father, discretion generally disguised that hereditary fault in her, which, by the want of that discretion, often appeared in him. She was the proudest of all her proud family; and her family the proudest of all their proud nation.

But the valuing herself on her high rank was less excusable in her than in most of her family, because she had really some qualities besides her rank to value herself upon.

But between the strength of her pride, and the strength of her understanding, it is easy to imagine how great the conflict within her must have been on the proposal of this match; and all things considered how uncommon a degree she must have had of the latter for it to have been prevalent over so large a portion of the former.

A little after this intended marriage was made public,

1733 and nothing but a few forms remaining to be adjusted for the completion of it, I saw her walking in the garden at Richmond tête-à-tête with her father a considerable time, her hand constantly in his, he speaking with great earnestness and seeming affection, and she listening with great emotion and attention, the tears falling so fast all the while that her other hand went every moment to her cheek to wipe them away. At the conclusion of the conversation he embraced her, whilst she kissed his hand with as much seeming fondness and respect as the Prince of Orange could have kissed hers.

As those who had now the ear of the Prince lost no opportunity to irritate and blow him up against his father, so this marriage gave them occasion to make His Royal Highness think it very hard that the first establishment provided by Parliament for one of the royal progeny should be for any but the heir-apparent to the Crown. He was so very uneasy that to everybody his looks told he was so, and to many his words.

The day the message was brought to both Houses it was whispered about that some friend to the Prince or enemy to the King would take this opportunity of making a proposal in the House of Commons to address His Majesty for the settlement of £100,000 a year to be made on the Prince, which, at the time the Civil List was given, everybody understood and had taken for granted was designed to be done as soon as he should come over; but nobody, when it came to the push, being either zealous enough for the service of the son, or desperate enough with the father, to care to begin it, there was not the least mention made of this measure in public, though it had been so much discoursed of in private. Nor was it in the least to be wondered at that this project should never be brought to execution; in the first place, because the danger every one ran of being betrayed who entered into any negotiation with His Royal Highness made few people care to begin one; and, in the next place, because the

instability of his conduct and the contempt that attended ¹⁷³³ his character made him so little worth getting that no wise or prudent man cared to run any risk for an acquisition that was likely to prove of so small a value and so short a duration.

When the great day for the debate on the South Sea ^{May 24} affair came on in the House of Lords, the numbers in the first division were equal; but the debate being on a previous question, whether a question of the Duke of Newcastle's should be then put, and the rule of the House in that case being *presumitur pro negante*, this equality proved in effect a decision against the Court. The Queen seemed much more concerned at this defection and rebellion in the House of Lords than the King, and Sir Robert more so than either of them. The part he had to act was a very delicate and disagreeable one, for he knew the fatal consequences of such mutiny if unpunished, and yet was forced to be tender of urging to the King the necessity of further punishment, because he did not care to represent this defeat to him in so strong a light as that in which he saw it himself. Had he owned to the King that this was a point of that importance to the Ministry which he thought it, it is possible that the King's seeing a question so laboured as the excise had been go against his Minister in the House of Commons, and this inquiry in spite of him brought into the House of Lords, might have made His Majesty imagine that Sir Robert's interest ran too weak in these two material assemblies to be long sustained. To the King, therefore, he treated this incident as a trifle, saying that it was of no importance to the Court which way it went; and that, as to the revolters, he knew the reasons and the price of every one of them; but that the one was not worth considering, nor the other worth paying.

The truth was, Sir Robert made this a point of importance by meddling with it at all, for had he let it take its course, the Court or the Ministry could have been no way affected by it; but his having once shown a desire to keep it

1733 off, that alone made it necessary for him, if he could, to have done it.

But after this victory over him in the South Sea inquiry the opposing Lords fell into just the same error that the opposing Commoners had done in the case of the Excise Bill; for, not content with their first conquest, they aimed at extending it, and by that means lost part of the ground they had gained. They never carried a question after the first day, and by seasoning every one stronger and stronger, their numbers grew weaker and weaker, till on the last *June 2* question, which was for appointing a joint committee of further inquiry into the South Sea Company's affairs, composed of twelve Lords and twenty-four Commoners, to be chosen by ballot and to sit during the recess of Parliament, the re-desertion of the deserters was so great that they did not dare to stand a division. However, they protested, and in so strong a manner that it was hardly possible for words to make up a more severe invective on those who had opposed the appointment of this committee; but I believe it was the first instance on the books where a minority has been suffered in such plain terms to call a majority "a pack of ignorant corrupt slaves to an ignorant corrupt minister."

The two last articles of this protest were so very extraordinary, that I cannot help transcribing them:

Because the arts made use of to divert us from our duty and defeat this inquiry give us reasons to prosecute it with double vigour. For impunity of guilt (if any such there is) is the strongest encouragement to the repetition of the same practices in future times, by chalking out a safe method of committing the most flagitious frauds under the protection of some corrupt and all-screening minister.

For these reasons we think ourselves under an indispensable obligation to vindicate our own honour, by leaving our testimonies in the Journals of this House, that we are not under the influence of any man whatsoever, whose safety may depend on the protection of fraud and corruption, and that we entered upon this inquiry with a sincere and just design of going to the bottom of the evil, and applying to it the most proper and effectual remedies.

A resolution was once taken to expunge this protest, but 1733 Sir Robert declaring he had rather expunge the protesters, and most people being of opinion that unless the expunction could be carried by a great majority, the protest had better remain, this resolution was laid aside. Had it been prosecuted it would have certainly drawn them into new inconveniences, for the present temper and disposition of the House would not have permitted the Court to execute this design with a high hand; and had it been executed at all, it would not only have contributed to make the fame of it spread still wider, but given occasion to the entry of a second protest against the expunction, in which the first would have been recited, and which Lord Carteret (who drew the other) had declared he had ready to insert, and conceived in much stronger terms than its predecessor. So that the measure of expunction, besides prolonging the life of the thing it was intended to destroy, would have helped it to generate and produce an offspring yet more offensive than the parent.

This privilege of protesting with reasons is one which the Lords seem proud and fond of, but of all Parliamentary privileges, forms, customs, or institutions, it seems to me the most unaccountable and absurd, as it must always carry along with it a censure on the conduct of the majority of the House, and is generally nothing more than an authorized libel on the people then in power. By which means, if protests have any effect on posterity, they must have a bad one, supposing it to be of any consequence what future times think of the equity or wisdom of the former; for as they always urge the strongest reasons against what is done, without ever being compared with those on the other side, they must make every one in futurity who is unacquainted with the motives of the legislature for the laws they enacted, imagine they either did not understand the interests of their country, or, from some mean corrupt views, sacrificed it to their own.

8733 When the political day of judgment came for the disposition of rewards and punishments at the end of this ^{June 13} Session, the signing this protest was looked upon as the sin against the Holy Ghost which was not to be forgiven. Accordingly, therefore, the Duke of Montrose and Lord Marchmont and Lord Cobham, the only three still left in employment who had been guilty of this irremissible sin, received letters of dismissal the day after the Parliament rose. As Lord Cobham had nothing but his regiment that could be taken from him (his government of Jersey being for life), his disgrace made much more noise than that of the other two. Lord Stair's regiment was not taken, for two reasons; in the first place, because they had already divested him of the employment of Admiral of Scotland;¹ and, in the next place, because without his regiment he must have starved; so that besides doubling the popular clamour upon breaking old officers for voting in Parliament (which was never approved of), the Court would have incurred the further odium of carrying their resentment to the utter ruin of those who had disengaged them, and, of course, drawn on the reproaches of all that numerous class among mankind who are always readiest to show their compassion to the oppressed by railing at the oppressor, and find a much greater pleasure in loading the one with reproaches than they would in administering relief to the other.

A little before the Parliament rose Sir Robert Walpole came to Lord Hervey and said he had so much business upon his hands that he begged of him to draw up a speech for the King to conclude the Session. Lord Hervey did so in the form following:

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—The necessary business of the Parliament for this year being now dispatched, and the season so far advanced, I doubt not but you will with pleasure receive a dismissal from the care of the public to that of your own private affairs and to the enjoyment of a recess in your respective countries.

¹He had been dismissed on the 30th April.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,—I return you my 2733 thanks for the cheerfulness and readiness with which you have raised the supplies for the current service of the year; and as I flatter myself that the future quiet of my reign will enable me to carry on my measures and support my Government without any extraordinary expenses, so I make no doubt but the reasonableness of my demands will always continue unanimity in your grants.

I am very sensible that peace is the essence of prosperity to a trading nation. I have therefore a pride as well as a pleasure in reflecting that this great blessing has been procured to these realms in my reign; and in such a manner too that as far as the natural vicissitude of human affairs will admit of security, that peace seems to be built on the most secure and lasting foundation. And as it has been my part to bring you into this situation of foreign tranquillity, be it yours to preserve domestic harmony: that my people may enjoy the fruits of my counsels and the success with which providence has thought fit to crown them in the most ample and advantageous manner.

That nothing may be wanting on my part towards the attaining that desirable end it shall be my constant study to bring the annual estimates of necessary expenses into as narrow compass as your security and mine will admit of; and I doubt not but your wisdom and prudence will so far co-operate with my case that these necessary expenses will always be defrayed and the supplies raised in the manner that will be best conducive to your fellow subjects.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—I cannot help taking this opportunity of telling you again how much I am pleased with the late dutiful and affectionate regard you so unanimously expressed to me and my family on my communicating to you the intended marriage of my daughter, and I think it is impossible for me to give you a greater proof of the interest of England being always nearest my heart and uppermost in my thoughts than by letting you see that even on that occasion it was second to no other consideration whatever. I am persuaded therefore it is unnecessary for me to give you any new assurance of my tender care and concern for the ease and welfare of my people; and that every action of my reign as well as this has enough demonstrated my inclination and answered my design to make such assurances superfluous. The success of your trade and the honour of the English nation are my primary views and steady pursuit in all my negotiations abroad, and the preservation of your happy constitution as by law established both in Church and State the sole tendency of all my counsels at home.

Let therefore the insinuations of the disaffected to my government (if such there are still remaining) be never so strenuously inculcated, let the groundless jealousies of any attacks designed on your liberties be never so artfully sown or industriously propagated to delude the ignorant, inflame the weak, and assist the malevolent, I depend on the eternal prevalency of truth to defeat and frustrate in the end all such false, such wicked, and such treasonable efforts.

I am too sensible of my own interest and too just to that of my people to make any distinction between them, or not to consider the ancient and fundamental principles of this excellent constitution with all the rights and privileges of my subjects as the sound and inviolable laws by which I will and ought to govern. I know your prosperity at home and your credit abroad depends on your being a free people; and I know my grandeur and happiness depend on your prosperity. Consequently I look on the mutual interests of the Crown and the people to be so inseparably interwoven that no King in this country can strike at the one without weakening the other, or make the least encroachment on the liberties of his people without acting as unlike a wise prince as a just one.

This speech, Sir Robert told Lord Hervey, was full of douceurs to the Parliament, which he thought they did not deserve, and such as he was sure the King (though he were to be advised to it) would never consent to bestow upon them; and as to the conclusion, that flattery to the people (he said) was what the King at this time would as little submit to as the other. Lord Hervey said Sir Robert was a much better judge than he could pretend to be, either of what the King would do or what he ought to do; but that for his part he did not think these were times for any good to be expected from the King's huffing his Parliament or seeming out of humour with them; and that as to the people, considering the notions that had been infused into their minds, of the double attack made on their liberties by a standing army and the excise, and considering the deep and general impression these suggestions had made on the minds of the people, that the King could not be too explicit in declaring all these suggestions entirely false and groundless, and that he was too careful

of their interest and too sensible of his own ever to enter- 1733
tain a thought of ruling them but by the known and ancient
laws of the Constitution.

Lord Hervey further added that if such sweetening declarations and little verbal cajoleries were ever expedient and proper to be made from the throne to the people, they never could be more so than at present; and that though the King might be wrong-headed enough to feel a little reluctance from his pride to make such professions to his subjects, or think at first that it was bending too much or letting down his grandeur, yet he thought it would be very easy to show him that such sort of condescension might often contribute to advance the interest and strengthen the authority of the Crown by putting the people in good humour; whereas it being nothing more than the transient show of condescension, it could no more really cheapen his dignity than it could essentially hurt his prerogative.

Sir Robert, however, would not take this advice. The indignities that had lately been offered to him all over the kingdom made him have a mind to draw the King in to show some resentment of them, and declare himself so little satisfied with this conduct, that he was not better pleased with his people than his people seemed to be with his Minister. He, therefore, drew up another speech, which the King spoke and was as follows:

June 13

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—The season of the year and the dispatch you have given to the public business make it proper for me to put an end to this session of Parliament.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,—I return you my thanks for the provisions you have made for the service of the present year. I have never demanded any supplies of my people, but what were absolutely necessary for the honour, safety, and defence of me and my kingdom, and I am always best pleased when the public expenses are supplied in a manner least burdensome to my subjects.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—I cannot pass by unobserved the wicked endeavours that have lately been made use of to inflame the minds of the people, and by the most unjust representations to raise

1733 tumults and disorders that almost threatened the peace of the kingdom; but I depend upon the force of truth¹ to remove the groundless jealousies that have been raised of designs carrying on against the liberties of my people, and upon your known fidelity to defeat and frustrate the expectations of such as delight in confusion. It is my inclination, and has always been my study, to preserve the religious and civil rights of all my subjects; let it be your care to undeceive the deluded, and to make them sensible of their present happiness, and the hazard they run of being unwarily drawn by specious pretences into their own destruction.

June 9 Just before the Parliament rose Lord Hervey was called up by writ to the House of Peers, where there was so great a want of speakers that the Court determined to make a recruit by next winter and began with this. Lord Cholmondely (formerly Lord Malpas), who was just come into the House of Lords by the death of his father, and was so vain as to think that the side on which he fought could want no reinforcement, did all he could to obstruct this promotion; and the Duke of Newcastle, who was simple enough not to be able to bear the receiving an assistance which the whole world knew he was simple enough to want, joined with Lord Cholmondely in this opposition. But Lord Hervey's interest at Court was at present too good for this point to be carried against him; for as the King and Queen had both a mind to have him in the House of Lords, and that Sir Robert had proposed it first to Lord Hervey without being solicited by him, it was impossible for Sir Robert, if he had been inclined to it, to go back. Besides, as Lord Hervey's pride and vanity were fed with the air of being called out of the whole House of Commons upon this occasion, and as he had a mind to strengthen the interest of his family in Parliament by bringing one of his brothers into his place, so he embraced this offer with too much readiness, and pushed the immediate execution of it with too much warmth, for the envy or ill-will of his adversaries to be able to stop it.

¹The City were much annoyed by this expression and said "truth" must have been a misprint for "troops." (Egmont, i. 387.)

The day before the Parliament rose the three vacant ¹⁷³³ Garters were given to the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Devonshire, and Lord Wilmington, and the day after it rose the Court went for a month to Richmond, where the King and Queen were always so much in private (and indeed the house would not allow them to be much in public) that they saw nobody but their servants.

From hence they went to Hampton Court, and soon after they came there the Duke of Bolton was dismissed from all his employments. In the Government of the Isle of Wight he was succeeded by the Duke of Montagu, a man of little more consequence than his being a Duke, who had been long wavering between the Court and the Opposition, and took this opportunity to sell himself for full as much as he was worth, by getting the income of this employment increased to £1,500 a year.

The coldness between the Prince and his parents at this time increased so much that it furnished conversation to the whole town, though it so far put an end to all that ever used to pass between him and his parents that the King never spoke to him, and the Queen very slightly. Lord Hervey in talking on this subject to Sir Robert Walpole said as natural as people might think it for him to be no personal friend to the Prince, or to wish any disgrace to attend him whilst he was under Mr. Dodington's direction, yet he was really sorry to see the misunderstanding between him and his father drawing to such a height that if something was not done to prevent it nothing less than an open rupture could be expected to be the consequence of it, and that as this was likely to be but a troublesome, turbulent year, he thought those who wished well either to the family in general or even to the present Administration should try to prevent a rupture that must indisputably hurt the interest of the first and could not but create much trouble to the last. He said he was not absolutely of the scripture sentiment, that is, if this were to happen, this House divided against itself could not stand; but that he

1733 did think it would weaken its structure, which at this time rather wanted props, than any additional weight to be laid on its foundation. Sir Robert Walpole told Lord Hervey he was so much of his opinion that he had always talked in this strain to the King and Queen, but that they were both so stiff in their resentment and so exasperated against their son that there was no making them bend or temporise with his conduct in the smallest degree.

“I know,” replied Lord Hervey, “the difficulty there is in persuading either of them to get the better of their pride in most cases. But if you can demonstrate it to be for the pecuniary interest of the other, there is nothing to which he may not be persuaded. Tell the Queen, then, that as Jacobitism is now every day trying all arts to spread itself, and every day gaining ground in the nation, there are those who will infallibly side with the son against his father, not out of love to the first, but out of enmity to the last, and who, knowing this civil contest to be the most favourable circumstance for their main point, will do all they can to foment and encourage it. At the same time you may tell the King that whatever provocations his son may give him, the nation and the Parliament will expect to have him kept, and kept out of the Civil List. What then will be the consequence of turning all the Prince’s family in either House into opponents, but the King’s being obliged to pay those for voting against him, whom he now pays for voting for him, and consequently His Majesty’s being forced to double the weight of expense in one scale in order to balance what will be taken out of it and thrown into the other?”

“I have often,” said Sir Robert Walpole, “made these inconveniences stare them in the face, and they are both ready to agree with me that they ought to be prevented; but both differ with me in the means of doing it. For whilst I am always preaching lenity and gentleness, the constant answer I receive is that I do not know their son so well as they do; that his understanding is to be

influenced and his nature to be wrought upon by nothing but fear; that the more anybody advances towards him the further he retreats; that any step towards softening him would make it more difficult; and that endeavouring to stroke him would only be encouraging him to strike." 1733

"For my own part," said Lord Hervey, "when I was of the Prince's Cabinet Council, I used constantly to be preaching to him that a family quarrel always did a family in general hurt, and most commonly every particular engaged in it; and the greater the family, the greater the misfortune. For this reason I told him all prudent people ever thought it ought always to be avoided, and small inconveniences rather borne with than the great ones that attended such ruptures incurred; that Kings and Princes had much to lose and little to get; and that in disputes of this nature the friends to each side were generally losers; and the common enemies to both the only gainers. This way of reasoning used to have an effect on His Royal Highness, and I fancy if urged home it would not be thrown away on Their Majesties. But the truth of the matter is you do not dare (for what reason I know not) to tell them the ticklish situation they are in; how few friends and how many enemies they have in the kingdom; how unpopular they are to the nation in general, and to how few particulars they are agreeable; that the disaffection to their persons, and the uneasiness under their government increases daily; and that the King, instead of augmenting the number of his enemies by a foolish *fierté*, ought to make use of all those supple insinuating arts which a Prince should put on who wants friends and desires to make them."

"What you are saying," interrupted Sir Robert Walpole, "is certainly true. But who shall tell them all this and expose themselves by such remonstrances to that *fierté*, my dear Lord, which you have described and I want to correct? Who shall tell him the true source of all the difficulties into which he has brought himself; that the

1733 affection of those who are called his friends decreases in the same proportion that the inveteracy of his foes augments; that it is as little the fashion to speak well of him in his palace as in the country; and that by his awkward, simple, proud conduct, even among all those whose interest it is to be friends to his power, there is not one to be found who is a friend to his person?"

Lord Hervey said it would be very difficult indeed to tell him these things in these words, or all at once; but that he did not think it at all impossible by degrees and gentle means so far to acquaint him with his situation as, by the assistance of the Queen, to make him change his behaviour, and not let it at last prove dangerous to himself in essentials by being so continually disagreeable to other people in trifles as well as essentials. "People who make their fortunes under a Prince will submit to be snubbed and ill used; and people who are caressed by a Prince, cajoled with good words, and treated with kindness, will serve him without great hire. But our Master endeavours by neither of these ways to attach people to his interest; he has not address enough to win them by flattery, nor has he liberality enough to gain by interest. For in no Court was there ever less to be got, though in no Court was there ever more to be done; never was greater attendance expected, nor ever fewer rewards distributed, and though the servants of no King were ever more punctually paid, yet none were ever less satisfied, nobody making a fortune under him, or getting more than just what defrayed the annual expenses of birthday clothes and the other necessary expenses incurred by dangling after a Court. The true state therefore of his case is (as you very well know) that as he cares for nobody, nobody cares for him; and that even his favours are so awkwardly bestowed that he gives without obliging, is served without being respected, and obeyed without being loved. This being his case I own," continued Lord Hervey, "I can by no means find out the good policy of letting him believe he is either popular

among his subjects, or beloved by his servants, when the ~~1753~~
suffering him to continue in that error is the sure way to
increase every difficulty in which it has already plunged
both him and you. For if nobody is to be brought to serve
him but by the force of money, and more people every day
are to be disengaged, the consequence of that must be the
price of people every day rising, till the Civil List and the
Exchequer will be too little to satisfy them. Besides, as his
eyes and ears are both open to the writings and clamours
now stirring in the world, if he thinks himself beloved in
the nation, to what cause must he ascribe all the discontents
he finds there, but to the unpopularity of his Ministers? And
if he is to believe that no disaffection reaches him but
what rebounds from them, what resolution can be so
natural for him to take, as that of changing them? You are
likewise, in my opinion, all of you playing just the same
timid injudicious part with regard to the elections that are
coming on, by making him believe they are all in a very
good way, and that you cannot fail of a Parliament to your
mind; by which means you expose yourselves to two
evils, one in present, the other a little more remote; the
present evil is the difficulty you will find after such repre-
sentations to make him give his money freely which you
know you must have, and cannot do without. The remoter
evil is, that when he shall find at the time of the elections
how matters go he must certainly reproach your foresight
or your truth and say you were either so ignorant as not to
know the situation of the kingdom and the temper of his
people, or that you knew both and deceived him."

This conversation was interrupted by the Duke of
Newcastle, who made his entry with as much alacrity and
noise as usual, mightily out of breath though mightily in
words, and in his hand a bundle of papers as big as his
head and with little more in them.

He came to talk over the affairs of Poland, that were
at this time brought to the great crisis of an election
for a new King and made too great a figure in the foreign

1733 transactions of this summer to be passed over in silence. For that reason I shall here give a short account of their situation.

The competitors for the crown of Poland, upon the *Feb. 1.* demise of King Augustus, were the Elector of Saxony, son to the late King, and Stanislaus Leczinski, father to the Queen of France. Stanislaus had been formerly made King of Poland by Charles XII. of Sweden, when that madman deposed King Augustus, and, after the defeat of the King of Sweden, had been himself deposed by King Augustus, who again regained the crown of Poland and died in possession of it.

The Emperor on this occasion opposed the party of Stanislaus, and espoused that of the Elector of Saxony, for a double reason. The one was, to prevent France from having any interest in so near and powerful a neighbour; and the other, his desiring to set a Prince on the throne of Poland who would enter into the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, and this the Elector of Saxony had promised to do, though he had married one of the daughters of the Emperor Joseph, and consequently gave away by this guarantee all the right his wife might pretend to any share of the Austrian dominions; and as she was daughter to the elder brother of the present Emperor, her claim and that of the Electress of Bavaria, her younger and only sister, were certainly the strongest that could be pleaded in bar to the undivided succession of the eldest daughter to the present Emperor, on whom all that great inheritance, by this settlement of the Pragmatic Sanction, was to fall.

The Czarina joined with the Emperor in concerting measures to defeat the pretensions of Stanislaus and promote those of the Elector of Saxony. The interest Muscovy had in preventing Stanislaus from reascending the throne was for fear, as Sweden had formerly made him King, he might be inclined, or think himself in gratitude obliged, as soon as he became so again, to assist the Swedes

in recovering what the Muscovites had taken from them ¹⁷³³ by conquest and still retained, particularly Livonia, which was the loss under which they were the most impatient.

France had no other interest in this affair than the glory of presiding in it, increasing the grandeur of the father-in-law to her own King, and establishing a monarch in Poland, who, by the ties both of blood and gratitude, she was sure, in any future disputes that should arise in Europe, must always give her cause the preference and her interest assistance.

The Primate of Poland, who had been gained by the money of France to the interest of Stanislaus, in his first step towards an election proposed an oath to be taken by all the Electors not to choose a foreigner. This oath, which, by the strength of the party of Stanislaus and the authority of the Primate, was forced on the people, entirely set aside the Elector of Saxony. The Emperor, therefore, and the Czarina ordered their ministers at Warsaw to protest against it, both of them pretending that it abridged the freedom of the Poles, who had a right to choose what King they thought fit, and for the maintenance of which freedom of election the Emperor said he was by treaty a guarantee. The Czarina went still farther, for she absolutely protested against the election of Stanislaus, who she insisted by a treaty now subsisting between Russia and Poland was for ever proscribed and made incapable of reascending the throne. When the Muscovite Ambassador at Warsaw made this protest to the Primate, he did it attended only with a few domestics, and at the same time told the Primate publicly, if the remonstrances were not listened to, that there were thirty thousand Russians then on the confines of Poland, who should penetrate his country, lay waste whatever they found in their way, march directly to Warsaw, and make their whole city a scene of blood, confusion, and ruin.

This defiance being thrown out at an assembly of the Poles, in a field where great numbers were met to consult

1733 on some point relating to the present critical juncture of affairs, the Muscovite Ambassador had like to have been murdered on the spot, and was with great difficulty rescued by his own train out of the hands of some warm partisans of King Stanislaus, who were already advanced to destroy him.

After these verbal representations and arguments, these two great powers, the Emperor and Czarina, proceeded to the *ratio ultima regum*, and prepared two great armies to march to the frontiers of Poland, the Czarina on the side of Lithuania and the Emperor on that of Silesia. Whereupon France also marched sixty thousand men, under the command of Marshal Berwick, natural son to King James II. of England, to the banks of the Rhine, and threatened, if the Emperor entered Poland, or any way by force pretended to influence the election, that he himself should be immediately attacked, either by the siege of Luxemburg or in whatever quarter he should be found most vulnerable or most exposed.

The Emperor, finding that neither Holland (who had signed a treaty of neutrality with France), nor England (who did not care to be drawn into any dispute in this affair), would stand by him in the point he was pushing, began to think of retreating as fast as he could from the unadvised hasty steps he had taken. But the same thing happened in this occurrence among the great powers of Europe that often happens in private transactions among people of inferior rank, which was, that after beginning to dispute on a trifle, to which they either were, or at least ought to have been, very indifferent, by little and little they worked themselves up to be so much in earnest, and each of them piqued themselves so much on that point of honour which everybody makes to himself of going through with what he undertakes, that all Europe was now upon the very verge of being embroiled in a war, which no one power in Europe was either inclined to or in a condition to undertake. France was drained of all her specie,

which had been expended in corrupting the Piastes¹ at Warsaw, and Cardinal Fleury, both in principle and interest, was so much averse to a war, that nothing but the impossibility of avoiding it could bring him ever to consent to declare it.

The Emperor was still less disposed to it, having no money, his troops dispersed and weak in every place where he had anything to maintain. He had been for two years evacuating Italy; he was able to make no opposition to the French on the Rhine; and was so destitute of forces, ammunition, provisions, and everything necessary to resist a siege in the Netherlands, that if the French had not known that neither the English nor the Dutch could suffer that barrier to be broken, they might have taken all he possessed in Flanders in half a campaign.

This Imperial bully, therefore, the series of whose conduct for several years past had always been either making promises he did not perform or throwing out menaces he did not dare to execute, now grew frightened, and that he might not give France an open handle for attacking him, or a pretence for passing the Rhine, countermanded the marching those troops that were in Silesia, and ordered them not to advance towards Poland, but to keep in an absolute state of inaction.

But the Russians having already entered Lithuania, and continuing their march towards Warsaw, the French said that as the Russians were put in motion by the contrivance of the Emperor, and took their measures underhand in concert with him, so whatever impediment was made by the Muscovites to the election of Stanislaus, they should look upon it in the same light as if it were done by the Imperial troops, and consequently resent it accordingly.

In the meantime the French fitted out a squadron of fourteen men-of-war for the conveyance, as they pretended, of King Stanislaus to Danzig, which fleet, to carry on the grimace, actually sailed to the Baltic, as if he had been

¹See p. 214.

1733 on board, whilst in reality he went incognito by land, and lay concealed in Warsaw till the day of election in the house of M. Monti, the French Ambassador.

Some time before the election another party began to gather strength in Poland—a party that was not for choosing either Stanislaus or the Elector of Saxony, but who proposed some third man to be taken, who should be a nobleman and native of their own, in order to avoid a scission (which is the term the Poles have to express an election decided by arms and not by voices). Many people were of opinion that the Primate underhand encouraged this party, who were for choosing a Piaste, or noble native of Poland, hoping by that means to make the election fall on his own nephew; but whether this project was ever in his thoughts, or whether he only could not bring it to bear, is what I do not pretend to determine; though, considering the character of the man, I think the last conjecture the most probable.

Sept. 11. When the day of election came, the Primate rode into the field, preceded by Poniatowski, Regimentary of the Crown, who harangued the nobles in favour of Stanislaus, and told them it was the only choice that could prevent a scission and preserve the tranquillity of the kingdom. Others said that the election of a Piaste only could have these effects, and put in nomination Prince Wisnowieski, Castellan of Cracow. Prince Lubomirski, Palatine of Sendomir, declared also against Stanislaus, and said to the Count de Tarlo, Palatine of Lublin, "You used to threaten death to any that should oppose Stanislaus in the field of election; if you dare to prosecute your threats, behold in me the man who opposes him and bids you defiance." The Starost Opoczinski went still further, and openly in the field of election said to the whole collected party of Stanislaus, "I speak in favour of liberty and against any election made in consequence of a restraining oath; and if this is being an enemy to my country, let him who thinks so strike me to the heart," in pronouncing which

words he bared his breast and presented it to the stroke. 2733
But a little tumult arising upon it, and some of the party of Stanislaus advancing to take him at his word, he was hurried out of the field by some of his own suite, whilst the rest of his party put themselves between him and his assailants. Immediately after this all the Palatines who were against Stanislaus, finding they were likely to be over-powered, retired to the other side of the River Vistula, after which the Primate brought on the election, and Stanislaus was chosen, six people of condition who were against him, and had not retired with the rest, being cut to pieces on the spot for opposing him. Notwithstanding which, the election was notified by the French minister at every Court in Europe as unanimous.

As soon as the election was over, the Electors, with the Primate and Regimentary of the Crown at their head, went to the house of the French Ambassador to acquaint Stanislaus with his being once more King of Poland, and pay their homage to their new sovereign; from thence he was conducted to the castle, with all those honours and acclamations generally given to royal idols when attended only by their own votaries.

But upon coming to the castle and looking out of the windows, when he saw how numerous the party appeared that had passed the Vistula, and were collected at Praga, his joy was extremely abated, and turning to the Primate, he said, "How much you deceived me when you told me my election was unanimous!"

However, after the news was spread of his being chosen, most people were of opinion that the lowering clouds of war that had hung over Europe during the suspension of the election would soon be dispersed, and many incidents contributed, besides that of Stanislaus being now actually King (which alone made opposition a more uphill game), to make the world imagine that this sudden-raised tempest would as suddenly subside. The one was that the Emperor, finding he was not likely to be

1733 supported by any of the Southern powers, himself gave but cold encouragement to the Russians to proceed, though he had been so zealous in pushing them on to the undertaking. In the next place, both the Muscovites and the Emperor were likely to have more material business of their own upon their hands; the first being under apprehensions of the approach of a great body of Tartars, who had made a descent on the side of Muscovy; and the last fearing that a late victory gained by the Turks over the Persians, might induce those ancient enemies of His Imperial Majesty to turn their arms to this part of the globe.

This being the present situation of affairs, every man in England who had the interest of his country at heart and understood it was glad when the news came that the election was over and made in favour of Stanislaus. In the first place, because everybody of the thin class I have mentioned (that is, who both mean and know what is right) is always thoroughly convinced that the most pernicious circumstances his country can be in are those of war, as we must be great losers whilst the war lasts, and can never be great gainers when it ends. In the next place, those who had the least degree of foresight could easily perceive that as matters stood at this time, the success of Stanislaus was the only thing that could possibly prevent a war. For had he, like the Prince of Conti at the last election, been sent back to France, who could imagine that that Court, after the vast expense made in his favour at Warsaw, and with such an army on the Rhine, would acquiesce under the disappointment and pocket the disgrace, and sit down the quiet dupe of the Court of Vienna, with this rod of vengeance in their hands, and the backs of their antagonists so exposed to correction?

But notwithstanding our interest was thus consequentially so much concerned in this event, few people in England were pleased with it; the honest patriots in opposition to the Court, on one side, being sorry that so

unpopular an incident as the breaking out of a war would ¹⁷³³ have been for the Government at this time was likely to be prevented; and the wise courtiers, on the other part, who knew the inveterate hatred our King bore to the French at this time, being rather desirous to risk their own power, and perhaps his crown, than not make their court to the unreasonable prejudices of their warm ignorant master.

For the Duke of Grafton, he always talked as the King talked; and the Duke of Newcastle, who, to give him his due, seldom slipped an occasion to manifest his good judgment, was foremost in his declarations on this occasion. Lord Hervey (who had acted more prudently to have been glad in private, than to declare his joy) said for his part he owned he thought the success of Stanislaus the best news he had heard a good while. The King took him up very short, and said it was no great proof of his justice to rejoice at the good fortune of a man that had been a traitor and a rebel to his lawful sovereign, and had usurped his crown. Lord Hervey assured the King he neither considered the justice of Stanislaus' former nor present pretensions to the crown; that all the reason he had for being glad on this occasion was, having the welfare of England and the ease of His Majesty's Government more at heart than any other consideration. Sir Robert Walpole, who generally thought and acted with better sense than anybody about him or against him, kept his opinion to himself, wished success to Stanislaus internally, and in a quiet way did all he could to procure it.

Besides the national aversion which all Germans are born with to the French, the King had other little motives to wish them disappointed on this occasion; which were, first, the making another Elector a King, and next the aggrandizing the Emperor, whom, as Elector of Hanover, he always looked upon as his chief—reasons that would have had but small weight in a great mind; but as weak ones are generally actuated by weak principles, so the strongest biasses in narrow souls generally consist of such trifles.

1733 The Queen herself was enough prejudiced, too, on this side, till Sir Robert Walpole unwarped her from it, and made her see how much this inclination jarred with her own interest. He convinced her that the Emperor had been originally in the wrong in the treaty made between him, Muscovy, and Denmark, for the exclusion of Stanislaus; that it was, moreover, extremely impolitic in His Imperial Majesty to run the risk of losing Italy for the sake of nominating a King of Poland; that his suffering his ambassador to act constantly in conjunction with that of Muscovy at Warsaw and go with him in person to the Primate, bidding him choose Stanislaus at his peril, were steps not to be justified. He further told her that nothing could do the King so much disservice at this time as engaging in war; first, as the name of war was seldom acceptable in this country, but that a war on account of a King of Poland was certainly what the nation could never be brought to think necessary or expedient. And as the elections were now coming on, the ferment in the country so great, and every circumstance that could blacken the Government so industriously improved, it was absolutely necessary for us to keep out of the squabble, and that the only part for us to take was to remain in an absolute state of inaction, without entering into any obligation of neutrality; for to advise giving the Emperor any assistance on this occasion would be (all these circumstances considered) as great an imprudence in the English ministers as it was in the Imperial counsellors to bring their master into a situation that made assistance so necessary. This was the language Sir Robert Walpole talked to the Queen.

In the meantime the Muscovites continuing their march towards Warsaw, and having called in the Cossacks and Kalmucs to their assistance and being joined by the malcontents of Poland, King Stanislaus, the Primate and their party, who were in no condition to make any resistance, were obliged to leave Warsaw and retire to Danzig; soon after which the party of the Elector of

Saxony proceeded to an election of their own, and chose 1733 him King.

France was so much irritated at this proceeding, that war against the Emperor was now declared in form. Maréchal Berwick passed the Rhine and besieged Fort Kehl, and an army of 40,000 men, under the command of Marshal Villars, passed the Alps (late as it was in the year) in order to attack the Emperor in Italy. This step was taken in consequence of a treaty concluded between the Courts ^{Sept. 26} ^{N.S.} of France and Turin, by which treaty the King of Sardinia obliged himself to give free passage through his territories to the French troops.

I cannot help observing here, how very impertinently Lord Essex, the English Ambassador at Turin, was treated on this occasion by that Court. As it was the desire of England at this time to keep the possessions of Italy in the hands they now were, and to preserve the tranquillity of that country, Lord Essex was ordered from his Court to propose an accommodation between the Emperor and the King of Sardinia, the plan of which accommodation the Sardinian ministers desired his Lordship to state to them in writing three weeks after they had actually signed a treaty with the Court of France, by which they obliged themselves to join with France in attacking him.

The King, in telling Lord Hervey this circumstance, one morning at breakfast in the garden at Hampton Court, when nobody was present but the Queen, said that the King of Sardinia's conduct appeared to him to be full as weak with regard to his own interest as it was impertinent with regard to England, and that he would soon find he had exchanged an ally for a master. "His Sardinian Majesty," replied Lord Hervey, "is so poor a creature, that very few testimonies of his folly could surprise me; but this step would prove all the people about him equal fools to their master, if one imagined they advised this measure as thinking it for the interest of their country; for which

1733 reason (continued Lord Hervey) I cannot help believing he must have been secretly sold to France by some Minister in whom he has confided upon this occasion."

"That may easily be," the King answered, "if he is really so poor a creature as you say." Lord Hervey assured His Majesty that it was impossible to describe either the aspect or the understanding of this King as meaner than it had appeared to him, and that the short acquaintance he had had with him five years ago at the Court of Turin, during the life and before the abdication of his father, had given him so low an opinion of his abilities, that he could imagine no error too gross for his Sardinian Majesty to be capable of committing. The Queen asked Lord Hervey if this was said to be merely owing to his natural want of understanding, or if his father had ever been reproached with neglecting his education. Lord Hervey told Her Majesty that his father had always, as he had heard, kept him in great subjection, but that no pains had been spared to form him or to make something of him, if there had been any materials to work upon. Here the King interrupted, and colouring with a mixture of anger and hatred, said: "I do not want to know that there may be people on whom all pains and care in education are thrown away."

Upon which the Queen winked at Lord Hervey to make no reply, and immediately turned the conversation.

At the same time that the French were attacking the Emperor in Italy, they also sent 15,000 men to take possession of the Duchy of Lorraine, whilst His Most Christian Majesty, to excuse the abrupt roughness of so uncharitable a deed, was pleased to send this message to his Welsh aunt, the Duchess-Dowager of that country, who was then at Luneville:

That reasons of State had forced him very unwillingly to take this step, but that if Her Serene Highness, till the present storm in Europe should be blown over, would please to take up her residence in any part of his dominions, she had but to name the place, and he would take care to have it prepared for her with all the respect due

to her birth, as a grand-daughter of France, and that she might depend on every mark of affection she could claim from a Prince who was so nearly related to her. 2733

Her Highness received this regal compliment as it deserved, and, with a magnanimity worthy of any Spartan heroine, sent the King of France this answer:

That she did not think it at all proper for the mother to take sanctuary in the dominions of the man who had so inequitably seized the son's, and that she should never hope to receive favours where she had not found justice.

During all these transactions Lord Hervey, who was as much in Sir Robert Walpole's way of thinking as he was in his interest, and vehemently against engaging England in this war, had more frequent opportunities than any other person about the Court of learning the Queen's sentiments on these affairs, and conveying to her his own. Wednesdays and Saturdays, which were the King's days for hunting, he had her to himself for four or five hours, Her Majesty always hunting in a chaise, and as she neither saw nor cared to see much of the chase, she had undertaken to mount Lord Hervey the whole summer (who loved hunting as little as she did), so that he might ride constantly by the side of her chaise, and entertain her whilst other people were entertaining themselves with hearing dogs bark and seeing crowds gallop.

Sunday and Monday Lord Hervey lay constantly in London; every other morning he used to walk with the Queen and her daughters at Hampton Court. His real business in London was pleasure; but as he always told the King it was to pick up news, to hear what people said, to see how they looked, and to inform Their Majesties what was thought by all parties of the present posture of affairs, he by these means made his pleasure in town and his interest at Court reciprocally conducive to each other.

These excursions put it also in his power to say things as from other people's mouths, which he did not dare

1733 to venture from his own, and often to deliver that as the effect of his observation which in reality flowed only from his opinion. However, that he might not draw on others the anger which by this method he diverted from himself, he used, both to the King and the Queen, to say he would willingly let them know everything he heard, but must beg leave always to be excused from telling where he had it or from whom; and as it was of much more use to Their Majesties to know what was said than by whom, so he hoped they would give him leave whilst for their sakes he communicated the one, for his own to be silent upon the other.

On these terms they accepted of his intelligence, and by these preliminaries he was in possession of saying the most disagreeable truths without either being reproved or being called upon for his authors.

The two great topics on which at present the inquiries of the King and Queen chiefly turned were the elections and the war. As to the first, Their Majesties always used to ask if the opponents seemed in spirits and in hopes; to which Lord Hervey generally replied that as it was so much their business to appear pleased and sanguine, it was very difficult to perceive whether they were really so or not, but as it was very certain no party at any time was ever more indefatigable in their attacks on a Government than the anti-courtiers were at present in every quarter of the kingdom, so if one might guess at their hopes of success by their assiduity in pursuing their objects, no party could ever think themselves more secure of prevailing; "though for my own part, Sir (said he), whenever any of them have talked to me in a strain as if they flattered themselves there would be any change in the complexion of the next Parliament, my answer has always been, 'The Court have truth and money on their side, two things which, if rightly managed, must in conjunction ever prevail; and if our friends have not skill enough to point out the force of the one or dexterity enough to insinuate the persuasions

of the other, in my opinion they deserve to be beaten. 1733
But as almost all mankind are either to be convinced or to be bought, so having sense enough among us to open our mouths and resolution enough to open our purses, what real foundation you gentlemen in the Opposition have to build your hopes upon is past my finding out.'

"And as to a change in the Administration, I tell them their expectations of such an event will prove full as vain as any they entertain of the other; that they must know Your Majesty very little who imagined you were to be influenced by the methods they had taken to stagger you; and that what they could not obtain by softer methods, applications of so rough a nature as they had lately made use of would never bring about. I assured them that Your Majesty was not of a temper to give way to the sort of attacks on which they seemed now entirely to depend; and that you did not want to see the inconveniences into which a submission to the unreasonable clamour they had raised would draw you.

"A Prince (I said) who changes his Administration by the intrigues of his courtiers and the cabals of the palace, runs no risk of weakening his own power. He rather shows the strength of it and has no danger to apprehend but that of being worse served. But a Prince that finds himself obliged to part with a Minister by the clamour of the people and the insolence of a mob who demand him to be given up, a Prince who complies with such solicitation, delegates for the future all his authority and all his privilege of choosing his own servants into the hands of a riotous multitude who, from a compliance of this kind in their Prince would think they had ever after a right to nominate his servants, and (like the Pretorian Bands formerly in Rome, or the Janissaries now in Turkey) would appoint whom they pleased to preside in the State. Whilst every Minister who was employed would look upon himself as the Minister of the people, not of Your Majesty, and would be imposed upon Your Majesty, or forced from

1733 you, just as the confused clamour of their capricious voices should ordain."

"And what (replied the King), can the puppies answer to this? Do they not look silly? They did not expect, I suppose, to find me so firm. The fools imagined perhaps they could frighten me. But they must not think they have a Stuart upon the throne; or if they do they will find themselves mistaken."

Lord Hervey said he had no great opinion of their knowledge or their penetration, and therefore could not easily determine what was too absurd for such people to believe or hope to propagate. But if common fame and the general opinion not only of all England, but all Europe, was not sufficient to remove any doubts these gentlemen might have of His Majesty's understanding or resolution, he hoped they never would have the only infallible conviction he knew of, which was the honour of being more nearly and personally acquainted with him.

The King's vanity had such an ostrich digestion for flattery that, let the dose be ever so potent, there was no danger of making it too strong for his appetite; nor did a food so grateful to his stomach require much dressing to reconcile it to his palate; most cooks could hit it, provided it was flattery and enough of it, no matter for the sauce, down it went equally welcome from the grossest or most delicate hand.

When the King asked Lord Hervey what he heard people say in town about the war, his answer generally was to this effect: that His Majesty's friends seemed to fear a war, and his enemies to wish one. "Do you think, then," the King would reply, "that the friends to the Government can desire to see the Emperor overrun by the power of France whilst England looks on without giving him any assistance?" Lord Hervey told him in the first place that the generality of His Majesty's friends only considered the gross question of peace or war at this time with regard to the effect it would have on the minds of the people, without

entering at all into the particular reasons that might 1733
make it advisable with respect to preserving the balance
of power in Europe; that most people were of opinion that
nothing could keep up the flame kindled in the nation till
the next elections without new fuel being added to it, and
that no fuel could be so effectual as that of a war. "In the
next place, Sir, they say that besides war being generally
unpopular, England entering into a war for a King of
Poland would make the cause as subject to ridicule as the
effect would be to dislike, and consequently give the
enemies to Your Majesty's Government a double handle
for censure and invective." "What party, then (said the
King), do people who wish well to Government hope I
will take?" "That of neutrality and inaction, Sir (replied
Lord Hervey), from engaging on neither side. They say
Your Majesty has nothing to apprehend at home or
abroad; till you have declared, both sides will court you;
and that if Your Majesty were to declare, you would lose
all advantages you at present have from the friendship of
the one, without augmenting the number of those you
enjoy from the other. It is further said, if it shall be
necessary at last for Your Majesty to arbitrate in this
quarrel, when the contending parties shall be so weakened
by the duration of their contest, their troops declined, and
their treasure diminished, they will more easily submit to
what Your Majesty shall decree, or more readily agree to
what you shall propose when so reduced, than in the first
warmth of their resentment and in the freshest vigour of
their strength at setting out. In the meantime each Power
hoping to win you to their friendship, Your Majesty's
subjects will exercise their commerce freely all over
Europe, will enjoy the benefits of peace, whilst their
neighbours are harassed by war, and after receiving favours
on all hands, whilst others are receiving blows, will, by
these means, be able in opulence and prosperity to give
laws to those who will have brought themselves into
poverty and distress. This is the manner in which Your

1733 Majesty's friends talk on the present conjuncture; and as one may gather information as well from the discourse of one's enemies as from that of one's friends, and that what the one wishes one should not do, may possibly be as good a rule to judge by, as what the other wishes one should, so I own the eager desire and the great expectation I see among some people to have Your Majesty engaged in this war is as strong a confirmation to me in the opinion that you ought not to be so, as any I hear among our own friends in behalf of peace. I could not help saying, Sir, the other day, to one who, with more zeal than prudence, assured me that the present posture of affairs would certainly be the ruin of my friends, that he would find himself, I believed, extremely mistaken, and, on the contrary, if these occurrences were rightly managed, which I doubted not but they would be, that he would see the situation of affairs abroad would be so far from obstructing Your Majesty's measures this winter at home, that it would certainly make them go on easier than if these broils upon the Continent had not happened, as they would silence all the clamour the opponents hoped to raise next session against keeping up the present army, and yet not be of a nature sufficient to require the increase of it, by which means the Court would be able to avoid either the unpopularity of entering into a war, or that of keeping up what were last year called useless troops in time of peace. I further told this person, Sir, that I knew the opponents had laid schemes to have addresses this next session against the army, as last year against the excise, from every place in England where they could obtain them, with the most positive instructions from constituents to their representatives to vote against the present number of troops that it was possible to draw up; all which well laid and dexterously laboured scheme must now be overturned and defeated, as no man of common sense could attempt to propose a reduction of the forces, because no one of common sense would regard him if he did."

Lord Hervey (bent on dissuading the King as far as his ¹⁷³³ power could go from running the English hastily into this Polish squabble) was constantly, whenever he had opportunity of talking to His Majesty, plying him in this strain; nor was he less busy in endeavouring to bring the Queen into a pursuit of these measures, though the way he took to influence her was in some particulars different. He tried to pique her pride into espousing what he thought right, by telling her that everybody in town was of opinion that Her Majesty saw plainly it was the interest of the nation and the interest of the Court for the King, as long as it was possible, to keep us out of this war, for which reason she was constantly labouring to bring His Majesty to forbear urging matters to extremity; but that in this point people said she would be overruled, and her prudence forced to give way to his impetuosity, and her will, though hitherto absolute in the State, now made to yield to his. By inculcating these things Lord Hervey endeavoured to make her engage in pursuing what was not her inclination, lest people should think it was, and that she wanted power to fulfil it.

But whilst I relate these things said by Lord Hervey on this occasion, I am far from meaning to insinuate that they were conveyed to Their Majesties only from him, or that he was the secret spring on which many great events moved. It was not the case; for Sir Robert Walpole constantly, and with much more weight, talked in the same strain. My reason, therefore, for putting these arguments into Lord Hervey's mouth in this narrative is, because I know they were said by him, and only conjecture their being said by any other person. And as he was the only man of common sense, not upon the foot of a minister, who had access to them at their private and leisure hours, he had more opportunities of saying things than many of those who held the same sentiments, and had more understanding than many of those who had the same opportunities.

1733 Spain had not yet adventured herself either in league against the Emperor in Italy or in a resolution to defend him, nor was she determined to maintain a neutrality; and as much depended on the part she would act, strenuous endeavours were used on both sides to gain her. Our King having undertaken to negotiate this affair between the Courts of Vienna and Spain, the whole transaction was carried on at the Court of England, where the Conde de Montijo, Ambassador from Spain to this Court, was set up at auction, whilst M. de Chavigny, the French minister, and Count Kinski, the Imperial Ambassador, bid for him.

What I am going to relate I had directly from the mouth of the Queen, who being always partial to the Emperor, one may be sure his faults in this relation are not exaggerated.

The plan of accommodation and alliance between the Imperial and Spanish Courts was drawn up by Sir Robert Walpole, and these were the terms: That on condition the Emperor would give the second Archduchess with the kingdom of Naples and Sicily as dower, that Spain should support the Emperor in the possession of every other country he was master of in Italy, and even of these during his life.

This proposal was given in writing to Montijo and Kinski, and despatched by them to their respective Courts. Montijo received full powers to sign, whilst Kinski received nothing in answer but inexplicable instructions, that bore no marks of anything plainly to be understood but the pride and folly of the present head of the Austrian family, who seemed to regulate his whole conduct on the haughty maxims of Charles V., without either his understanding or his purse.

However, as things grew every hour worse and worse for the Emperor; as the arms of France both in Italy and on the Rhine made such quick work in defeating him; and as so much time would be necessary, if fresh instances were

sent to Vienna, for the Emperor's assent to this accommodation, and the return of that messenger waited for; and as the Spanish Ambassador had powers to sign and offered to make use of them; the King of England pressed Kinski extremely to strike whilst the iron was hot, showed him the danger of delay, and offered to write with his own hand to the Emperor to indemnify him; but neither the King, the Queen, nor any of our ministers could prevail with him to conclude this matter without sending for further powers and instructions. But before this messenger returned, Spain, irritated by these delays of the Emperor, had joined with France, and when Kinski, on the arrival of this last courier, offered to sign the treaty, the Spanish minister refused, said it was now too late, that his master had concluded a treaty with the King of France, and had already given orders for his troops immediately to join those of France and Sardinia in Italy. Oct. 9

By this absurd conduct of the Emperor, therefore, he first lost the advantages he might have had rather than lower his pride, and then had the mortification of quitting his pride without the benefit of getting anything by so doing.

The consequence of which reasonable and judicious behaviour was that before the Parliament met this year, which was in the middle of January, the war in Italy was prosecuted with so much vigour by this triple alliance of France, Spain, and Sardinia, the Emperor was not master of one single place in Italy on this side the Ecclesiastical State but the Mantuan; his affairs having been so well managed, that with 13,000 men in Lombardy, provisions for double that number, and ammunition in proportion, these essentials of war were so disposed and scattered, that wherever there were provisions there was no ammunition, and where there was ammunition there were no provisions, and where there were men there was neither ammunition nor provisions.

The summer now drawing to a conclusion, the marriage

1733 of the Princess Royal began again to be talked of, and those necessary previous stipulations were anew taken into consideration which the dilatoriness of the King, the indifference of his Ministers, and the tardy phlegm of Dutch negotiators, had left unadjusted for more months than they really require days to be settled in if proper diligence had been used. At last everything was finished, and a yacht ordered to Holland to bring the Prince of Orange over. Horace Walpole, under the pretence of going to attend His Highness hither, was sent to concert measures with the ministers of the States, and agree what part England and Holland should take at this very critical conjuncture of affairs.

But this finesse was as coarse as it was ridiculous and unnecessary, everybody the moment he was nominated for this voyage discerning the reason of it, and everybody knowing, whether Horace was sent to Holland or not, that it was natural, reasonable, necessary, and sure, that Holland and England ought, must, and would, act in concert upon this occasion.

Nov. 7 The beginning of November the Prince of Orange arrived, and was lodged in Somerset House. Almost all the nobility and people of distinction in England went to wait upon him there; several were of that number who did not come to Court. He came the next morning to St. James's through crowded streets and unceasing acclamations, though the equipage the King sent to fetch him was only one miserable leading coach with only a pair of horses and a pair of footmen.

The palace was so thronged that he could hardly get up stairs or pass from one room to another, most people having a curiosity to see him, and few having yet found out that making their court to him was not making it at all to his future father-in-law.

The maxim the King seemed to have laid down to govern his conduct towards this Prince, and the opinion he seemed to desire tacitly to inculcate, was that the Prince

of Orange was a nothing till he had married his daughter, 1733 and that being her husband made him everything.

Conformable to this maxim he suffered no sort of public honours to be paid to the Prince on his arrival, and behaved himself with scarce common civility towards him, which the Prince of Orange had sense enough to feel and to seem not to see. The Tower guns were not allowed to salute him, nor was the guard permitted to turn out upon his arrival. Lord Lovelace was sent with one of the King's coaches to receive him at his landing, and with great difficulty the King was persuaded, the night the Prince came first to Somerset House, to send Lord Hervey to him with a compliment.

The Queen desired Lord Hervey the instant he returned to come directly to her apartment, and let her know without disguise what sort of hideous animal she was to prepare herself to see. Lord Hervey, when he came back, assured her he had not found him near so bad as he had imagined; that she must not expect to see an Adonis; that his body was as bad as possible; but that his countenance was far from disagreeable, and his address sensible, engaging, and noble; that he seemed entirely to forget his person, and to have an understanding to make other people forget it too.

Lord Hervey said he fancied the Princess must be in a good deal of anxiety, but the Queen told him he was extremely mistaken; that she was in her own apartment at her harpsichord with some of the Opera people, and that she had been as easy all that afternoon as she had ever seen her in her life. "For my part," said the Queen, "I never said the least word to encourage her to this marriage or to dissuade her from it; the King left her, too, absolutely at liberty to accept or reject it; but as she thought the King looked upon it as a proper match, and one which, if she could bear his person, he should not dislike, she said she was resolved, if it was a monkey, she would marry him."

1733 From the Queen Lord Hervey went to the Princesses, who were equally impatient for a description of their new brother-in-law, as if they were more likely to have a true one for his being in the same town than they were from one who had only seen him in Holland.

The Princess Royal's behaviour next day, and indeed every day, with the eyes of the whole nation upon her, was something prodigious for propriety, sense, and ease. The Monday following was the day fixed for the ceremony; but the Prince being taken ill of a fever the day before, it was put off. He continued ill a long time; was thought at first in immediate danger, and for a considerable time in a languishing condition from which it was impossible he should ever recover.

During this tedious and dangerous illness no one of the Royal Family went to see him. The King thought it below his dignity, and the rest, whatever they thought, were not allowed to do it.

The Prince of Orange could not but be extremely concerned at this treatment; but had, however, the prudence to be silent on a chapter which his Dutch booby retinue had the imprudence to preach upon all day and in all companies.

As soon as he was able to go out he went to St. James's, and by chance dined with the Princesses, who were forbid to invite him any more. He removed to Kensington for the air, and was from thence sent to the Bath. But on his arrival in England, on the day for the marriage being set, on its being put off, on his illness, on his recovery, on his being in danger, or on his being out of it, the countenance of the Princess Royal to the nicest examiners appeared exactly the same; which surprised everybody so much the more as she was known to be of a temper to which nothing was really indifferent, whatever it appeared.

The Prince of Wales forced himself to be tolerably civil to the Prince of Orange, though he was hurt at the distinctions paid him by the nation. Yet the Prince of Wales

had at least this satisfaction in obliging himself to do what ¹⁷³³ he thought right on this occasion, that he was sure what he was doing was disagreeable to his father.

As to his sister, the Princess Royal, whenever he spoke of her it was with as little decency as affection. His mother was not much more in his favour than his sister. He said they were both so interested, so false, so designing, and so worthless, that it was as impossible to love or value them, as it was to trust them without being betrayed, or believe them without being deceived.

The opponents conceived great hopes from these family divisions of strengthening their party this winter in Parliament by the Prince's declaring openly for them. Everybody talked of these quarrels, but the whole family was so little popular that few people justified any of the parties concerned in them or wished them reconciled.

Those in power, fearing they might be hurt by things coming to an extremity, endeavoured for their own interest to palliate and soften matters between the father and the son, but cared no more personally for either of them than they did for one another.

On New Year's Day the Prince of Wales was persuaded by Mr. Dodington to go to the King's levee, where he had not made his appearance for some months, and was now induced to it not from a desire to show respect to his father, but in order (hoping the King would not speak to him) to show the world how ill he was used and what little encouragement he had to pay his father any compliment of that kind. Lord Hervey, who knew from Mr. Hedges (the Prince's treasurer), the night before, that the Prince intended going to the King's levee, told the Queen of it, and desired her to contrive the King's speaking to him, to prevent what they proposed, telling her how useful it would be towards stopping the report of the Prince's ill usage, and what a damp it would cast upon the schemes of those who built their hopes of annoyance this winter upon the expectation of an open rupture in the family.

This intimation had its effect. The Prince was spoken to in the presence of that numerous appearance of bowing nobility and gentry who generally thronged the palace on those days, and the report of no intercourse either of words or visits passing between these two great personages was, of course, contradicted.

Lord Hervey took the opportunity of this interview with the Queen, and the Prince's name being mentioned, to tell her that even the best friends to her, the King, and the Administration were of opinion that the Prince had not money enough allowed him, and that whilst he was so straitened in his circumstances it was impossible he should ever be quiet. "My God!" said the Queen, "that people will always be judging and deciding upon what they know nothing of; who are these wise people?" Lord Hervey desired to be excused, and she went on. "Pray, when you hear them, my Lord, talk their nonsense again, tell them that the Prince costs the King £50,000 a year, which, till he is married, I believe any reasonable body will think a sufficient allowance for him. But, poor creature, with not a bad heart, he is induced by knaves and fools that blow him up to do things that are as unlike an honest man as a wise one. I wonder what length those monsters wish to carry him. But talk to me no more of his usage; I wish he was as right towards the King as the King is towards him." Lord Hervey said he did not at all dispute the fact of the Prince's costing the King £50,000 a year; but if Her Majesty would give him leave, he would only ask why, instead of the King's being at half that expense invisibly, he would not choose rather to let the Prince keep his own table and give him that allowance in a lump, which everybody would acknowledge to be sufficient, and which, given in this manner, would be at once more useful and satisfactory to the Prince, and more creditable as well as less troublesome to the King. When she was pressed upon this point she had nothing to answer, but that the King did not choose it should be so. But the truth was, they both

hated their son to that immoderate degree that they would ¹⁷³⁴ rather put themselves to inconveniences than make him easy; and whilst she talked of his not having a bad heart, she had (if possible) yet a worse opinion of that than of his head.

This being the Prince's present situation, his debts numerous, his creditors importunate, and his treasury empty, the clandestine correspondence between him and the Opposition continued in full force, he hoping to make some use of their despair, and they of his distress.

The great points that were expected to be pushed this session in Parliament by the Opposition were this affair of the Prince's, a scrutiny into the debt of the Navy, which was £1,800,000, and the repeal of the Septennial Bill.

Upon foreign affairs The Craftsman and his whole party were quite silent, not caring, till the Court had declared what part it would act, to say what they thought right, because they would be at liberty, whatever that part should be, to pronounce it wrong.

It was the business of Sir Robert Walpole, therefore, to keep his designs in the dark as long as he could, but everybody concluded that at the opening of the session in the King's Speech he would be obliged to declare one way or other. How dexterously and judiciously he avoided that declaration can never be told so well by anything as the Speech itself.

Jan. 17

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—The war, which is now begun, and carried on, against the Emperor, with so much vigour, by the united powers of France, Spain, and Sardinia, is become the object of the care and attention of all Europe; and though I am no ways engaged in it, and have had no part, except my good offices, in those transactions, which have been declared to be the principal causes and motives of it, I cannot sit regardless of the present events, or be unconcerned for the future consequences of a war, undertaken by so powerful an alliance.

If ever any occasion required more than ordinary prudence and circumspection, the present calls upon us to use our utmost precaution not to determine too hastily upon so critical and important

1734 a conjecture, but to consider thoroughly what the honour and dignity of my crown and kingdoms, the true interest of my people, and the engagements we are under to the several powers we are in alliance with, may in justice and prudence require of us.

I have therefore thought it proper to take time to examine the facts alleged on both sides, and wait the result of the councils of those powers, that are more nearly and immediately interested in the consequences of the war, and to concert with those allies, who are under the same engagements with me, and have not taken part in the war (more particularly the States General of the United Provinces), such measures as shall be thought most advisable for our common safety, and for restoring the peace of Europe.

The resolutions of the British Parliament, in so nice a juncture, are of too great moment not to be carefully attended to, and impatiently expected, by all, and not least by those, who will hope to take advantage from your determinations, whatever they shall be, and turn them to the prejudice of this kingdom. It must therefore be thought most safe and prudent thoroughly to weigh and consider all circumstances, before we come to a final determination.

As I shall have, in all my considerations upon this great and important affair, the strictest regard to the honour of my crown, and the good of my people, and be governed by no other views, I can make no doubt, but that I may entirely depend on the support and assistance of my Parliament, without exposing myself, by any precipitate declarations, to such inconveniences, as ought, as far as possible, to be avoided.

In the meantime, I am persuaded, you will make such provisions as shall secure my kingdom, rights and possessions from all dangers and insults, and maintain the respect due to the British nation. Whatever part it may, in the end, be most reasonable for us to act, it will, in all views, be necessary, when all Europe is preparing for arms, to put ourselves in a proper posture of defence. As this will best preserve the peace of the kingdom, so it will give us a due weight and influence in whatever measures we shall take in conjunction with our allies: but should the defence of the nation not be sufficiently provided for, it will make us disregarded abroad and may prove a temptation and encouragement to the desperate views of those who never fail to flatter themselves with the hopes of great advantages from public troubles and disorders.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,—I shall order the Estimates to be laid before you of such services as require your present and immediate care. The augmentation, which will be

proposed for the sea service, will be very considerable; but I am ²³⁴ confident it will be thought by you reasonable and necessary. I must particularly recommend to your care the debt of the navy, which has every year been laid before you; but from the present circumstances of the times, I believe you will think it now requires some provision to be made for it, which cannot well be longer postponed, without manifest detriment to the public service.

As these extraordinary charges and expenses are unavoidable, I make no doubt but you will effectually raise the supplies necessary for defraying of them with that readiness and despatch, and with that just regard to the true interest of my people, which this Parliament has hitherto shewn upon all occasions.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—It is at all times to be wished, that the business of Parliament might be carried on free from heats and animosities, and with that temper which becomes the justice and wisdom of the nation: at this time it is more particularly to be desired, that this session may not be protracted by unnecessary delays, when the whole kingdom seems prepared for the election of a new parliament; an event which employs the attention of all Europe: and I am very well pleased that this opportunity offers of taking again the sense of my people in the choice of a new representative, that the world may see how much their true sentiments have been mistaken, or misrepresented. Those who see and hear only at a distance, may easily be imposed upon, and from thence conceive false hopes or fears; but I am confident a little time will effectually remove all groundless surmises and it will be found that Great Britain is always ready to act that part, which the honour and interest of the nation calls upon them to undertake.

Lord Hervey was pitched upon in the House of Lords, much against the Duke of Newcastle's will, to move the address to the King's Speech; and as what he said may serve to illustrate the language talked at this time by all the advocates for the Administration, I shall give it at length.

MY LORDS,

I am so new to the honour of sitting in this assembly, that very few occasions could offer in which I should not much sooner wish to be attentive in order to form my opinion than forward to deliver it.

But as many opportunities have presented themselves to your Lordships (which you have never failed to improve) of testifying your affection and duty to His Majesty's person and Government,

1734 your zeal for the service of the State, your attachment to its interest, and your resolution to protect and defend all the rights, liberties, and privileges of this wise and happy Constitution, of which your Lordships are the chief support and guardians as your Lordships have not only at all times professed these to be your sentiments, but proved they were the principles that constantly actuate your conduct, I hope. I shall be forgiven if, in order to follow such laudable examples, an extreme, and what on every other occasion I should call an improper, eagerness now prompts me to make the earliest declarations to your Lordships that, in these particulars at least, how deficient soever I am ready to confess myself in every other, I will never prove unworthy of being admitted into this great society of which I have now the honour to be a member.

What encourages me still farther to hope for your Lordships' indulgence on this occasion is that considering the present situation of England, either with regard to its foreign or domestic interest, considering what has just now been delivered from the Throne, and considering the characters of those to whom I am speaking, it is impossible for me not to imagine that every one of your Lordships is already desirous to promote what I shall only have the good fortune to be the first in proposing, and consequently whilst I am speaking my own thoughts I cannot help flattering myself that I am only anticipating and delivering the thoughts of your Lordships.

And as general acknowledgments to His Majesty for the regard he has on all occasions shown for the welfare of his subjects and the interests of these realms as expressing a gratitude for his past and a reliance on his future care, and a thorough satisfaction in his wise and prosperous government—as this is all I shall take the liberty to propose to your Lordships, many words, I think, cannot be necessary; a very few reflections on the series of policy pursued from the commencement of His Majesty's reign to this hour, a very short deduction of known facts, will surely suffice to prove the propriety of such a proposal at this time and the reasonableness of hoping for your Lordships' concurrence in it.

That peace is the essence of prosperity to a trading nation I believe is a position will no more be denied me than that the whole tenor of His Majesty's conduct since he first mounted the throne has demonstrated his desire, on one continued uniform plan, to procure that invaluable blessing to his people, and establish it on as lasting a foundation as human prudence can form, or the natural vicissitude and instability of human affairs subject to so many and such unforeseen accidents will admit.

The very delicate and unsettled situation in which His Majesty ¹⁷³⁴ found the affairs of Europe at his first accession to the Crown the unwearied application and unalterable steadiness with which he has wrought in order to fix them on a firmer foot the success that did attend those endeavours and does still attend them with regard to the particular tranquillity and prosperity of his own dominions, are considerations which, if duly weighed, will, I am convinced, not only entitle him to the thanks of all those of whose interests he has the care and of whose security he is the guardian, but must likewise procure him at least the tacit applause and approbation of all mankind.

As to the first of these considerations, I need not trouble your Lordships with particularly describing the very intricate, complicated, and entangled disposition of the affairs of all the great powers of Europe at the period I have just now mentioned. The various views and conflicting pretensions, the jarring demands and contradictory claims, of the different princes concerned in the disputes at that time depending, sufficiently set forth the difficulty of the part His Majesty had then to act. Nor were the immediate and particular interests of England unaffected. At this time there was a union subsisting between two great confederated powers, a union grounded on reciprocal advantages proposed to each other, which were to be gained by mutual aids stipulated, and assistance promised, not only in opposition to the interests of the British nation, but in manifest invasion of her absolute and established rights; I mean, my Lords, by one of these powers bringing again into dispute the possessions of England abroad (confirmed to us by so many treaties), whilst the other endeavoured to lessen the advantages of our trade by interfering in one of the most valuable and beneficial branches of it.

However, by the steady conduct, the firmness, and prudence of His Majesty, peremptory as these powers were in their demands, and stiff in maintaining what they had undertaken, means were found to baffle these attacks and defeat these pretensions the rights and possessions of England abroad were again confirmed by a new treaty and agreements with one of these powers, the rival of our trade was no longer supported by the other, and the full exercise of every other branch of our commerce was again restored and amply enjoyed.

Nor did His Majesty's labours for the service of mankind end there; he now took into his thoughts the general peace of Europe, though he made it a second consideration to that of the particular interest of his own subjects, and postponed all other views till that was accomplished. By his wise mediation and friendly interposition the tranquillity of Europe was restored; points that had been disputed

1734 during many years of unsuccessful negotiation were, by his skill, happily adjusted and settled; points that had so long kept all Europe in that uneasy situation of impending rupture, that amphibious state of war and peace, by which every country concerned was plunged in all the expenses of the one, yet detained in all the inaction of the other. However, such was the good fortune of His Majesty, that to this long-disturbed prospect succeeded an entire calm: Spain was satisfied, the Emperor was made easy, Holland consented, and France was quiet.

But as the best concerted schemes are still imperfect, and the most permanent liable to change, so, by accidents impossible to be foreseen, and consequences of those accidents as impossible, perhaps, to be prevented, though they had been foreseen, new troubles began, new clouds arose, and a new storm broke out upon the Continent. The choice of a successor to the deceased King of Poland employed the attention of all the great powers of Europe—an event about which it was natural to imagine the princes who at present dispute upon it would never have so far concerned themselves as to risk what they now stake and expose.

But it happened among them, as it often happens among people of inferior rank, that what was a trifle in the beginning became in the conclusion an essential: they engaged themselves unwarily by little and little till they found they were advanced too far to recede; what was not a point of interest at first became a point of honour at last, and they perceived themselves too late in that situation into which (if they had foreseen the inconveniences) they never would have brought themselves by the original embarking.

However, I cannot but observe to your Lordships that, whilst most countries in Europe are exposed to the calamities of war, and groan under its weight—whilst every country is sensible of the oppressive expenses of it—this island, still happy in her situation, nor less happy in her guardian and protector, by the caution, prudence and foresight of His Majesty in the engagements by which he has bound himself, has still her choice of peace or war, what party she will espouse, if any, whom she will assist, and whom she will withstand.

Her friendship by every State courted and coveted; her enmity by every Court dreaded and apprehended; her commerce, the source of her prosperity, extended to all parts of the known world, successful and unmolested; her ships laden with riches, every sea free to their passage and open to their reception.

And as this scene of happiness, the being prosperous at home and considerable abroad, as every blessing we can boast of, in my opinion,

proceeds from the harmony subsisting between His Majesty and his 2734 Parliament, so I am persuaded it is wholly unnecessary for me to recommend to your Lordships the preservation of that harmony, as your own thoughts will naturally suggest to you that the best and surest method to continue these blessings and advantages to the state is to continue the means by which they have been procured.

And as the best security for the fidelity of alliances is to make it as much their interest by whom national faith is plighted to have it preserved as theirs to whom it is given—as the best security against any perfidious attacks upon our rights or invasions of our tranquillity is to show those who may meditate any such design how unsuccessful it is like to prove, and that the assailant would be the sufferer, and, in few words, my Lords, that we may depend as much on the fear as the faith of all our neighbours, I doubt not but your Lordships will think it expedient to put the nation in such a posture of defence as shall, in these general troubles and commotions, preserve the honour and dignity of the Crown from any insult, the safety of the people from any danger, and the peace of the kingdom from any at least successful attempts to molest it. Such steps are, I think, what prudence, interest, justice, and wisdom now require from your Lordships; such steps are consequently consistent with yourselves; and as I cannot help thinking that the proceedings of your Lordships have been such that the best rule for your future behaviour is the example of your past conduct, so I shall take the liberty to make a motion to your Lordships drawn as near as I could copy it upon that plan.

Then followed the motion for the address which I need not repeat, addresses of this kind, at the beginning of a session, being never anything more than echoing back the words of the throne, with general assurances of zeal and fidelity, confidence in His Majesty's wisdom and goodness, and a sort of promissory note for compliance with his demands. The address of the Commons was to the same effect; and both passed without opposition.

Before I proceed to the relation of what passed this session in Parliament I must give a short account of the changes made in the House of Lords in favour of the Court since the ruffle on the South Sea affair last year.

In the first place, all those who had not been turned out of their employments for that elopement were returned to

1734 the yoke from which they had started, and drew as quietly as if they had never gone restive.

In the next place, four new lords were added to this body, Lord Hinton, Lord Talbot, Lord Hardwicke, and Lord Hervey. Lord Hinton was eldest son to Earl Poulet, a man of a great estate, who had been Lord Steward in the four last years of Queen Anne's reign, and was this year gained over to the Court on his son's being made Lord of the Bedchamber, and called up to the House of Peers. Lord Hardwicke and Lord Talbot were two as great and eminent lawyers as this country ever bred; the first had been Attorney-General, and the last Solicitor. Upon the corporal death of my Lord Chief Justice Raymond, and the intellectual demise of Lord Chancellor King, these two men, Sir Philip Yorke and Mr. Talbot, were destined to succeed them. But the voracious appetite of the law in these days was so keen, that these two morsels without any addition were not enough to satisfy these two cormorant stomachs. Here lay the difficulty. Sir Philip Yorke, being first in rank, had certainly a right to the Chancellor's seals; but Talbot, who was an excellent Chancery lawyer and knew nothing of the common law, if he was not Chancellor, would be nothing. Yorke therefore, though fit for both these employments, got the worst, being prevailed upon to accept that of Lord Chief Justice, on the salary being raised from £3,000 to £4,000 a year for life, and £1,000 more paid him out of the Chancellor's salary by Lord Talbot. This was a scheme of Sir Robert Walpole's, who, as Homer says of Ulysses, was always fertile in expedients, and thought these two great and able men of too much consequence to lose or disoblige either. Sir Robert communicated this scheme secretly to the Queen, she insinuated it to the King, and the King proposed it to Sir Robert as an act of his own ingenuity and generosity.

Lord Talbot had as clear, separating, distinguishing, subtle, and fine parts as ever man had. Lord Hardwicke's were perhaps less delicate, but no man's were more

forcible. No one could make more of a good cause than 1734 Lord Hardwicke, and no one so much of a bad one as Lord Talbot. The one had infinite knowledge, the other infinite ingenuity: they were both excellent, but very different; both amiable in their private characters, as well as eminent in their public capacities; both good pleaders, as well as upright judges; and both esteemed by all parties, as much for their temper and integrity as for their knowledge and abilities.

There was something very singular in the fortune of the deposed Chancellor, Lord King, as he was perhaps the only instance that can be given of a man raised from the most mean and obscure condition to the highest dignity in the state without the malice of one enemy ever pretending to insinuate that the partiality of his friends, in any one step of this rise, had pushed him beyond his merit. He was made Chancellor as much by the voice of the public as by the hand of power; but his entrance on that employment proved the vertical point of his glory, for from the moment he possessed it his reputation, without the least reflection upon his integrity, began to sink; and had the seals been taken from him, even before his imbecility occasioned by his apoplectic fits, it would have been with the same universal approbation with which they were conferred. Expedition was never reckoned among the merits of the Court of Chancery; but whilst Lord King presided there the delays of it were insupportable. He had such a diffidence of himself that he did not dare to do right, for fear of doing wrong; decrees were almost extorted from him; and had he been let alone he would never have given any suitor his due, for fear of giving him what was not so. This actual injustice was all he avoided to commit; never reflecting that the suspension of justice, in keeping people long out of their rights, was a negative injury, which, considering the trouble, the expense, the anxiety, and the thousand other inconveniences that attended those delays, was almost as bad as the total privation of it.

1734 His understanding was of that balancing, irresolute kind that gives people just light enough to see difficulties and form doubts, and not enough to surmount the one or remove the other; which sort of understanding was of use to him as a pleader, though a trouble to him as a judge, and made him make a great figure at the bar, but an indifferent one upon the Chancery bench; the same knowledge and talents that helped him to puzzle other judges when they were to decide, contributed to puzzle himself when it was his turn to do so. The Queen once said of him, and very truly, as well as agreeably, that "He was just in the law what he had formerly been in the Gospel, making creeds upon the one without any steady belief, and judgments in the other without any settled opinion: but the misfortune," said she, "for the public is, that, though they could reject his silly creeds, they are forced often to submit to his silly judgments."¹

Soon after he was Chancellor complaints were made that all the equity of the nation was at a full stand; but till he had in a great measure lost his senses by repeated attacks of apoplexy and palsy the Court did not displace him; and even then, though he had a pension of £3,000 a year given him on his dismissal, he was as much out of humour as if they had given him nothing, and as angry at being out of his employment as if he had been still fit to exercise the duties of it. The next summer he died, little regretted by anybody, but least of all by His Majesty, who saved £3,000 a year by it.

Notwithstanding all the menaces thrown out by the Opposition previous to the opening of this session, and the vigorous attacks expected consequently to be made upon the ministry, no session ever passed off more quietly; nor did the business of the Court any year ever meet with fewer rubs.

¹Lord King had dabbled in divinity, and published in 1702 a History of the Apostles' Creed. (Croker.)

This was owing principally to the opponents laying ¹⁷³⁴ their chief stress on a point full as unpopular as any proposal that ever came from the Administration, which was bringing in a bill to make the commissions of the officers of the army commissions for life; to take away the power of breaking any officer of the army from the Crown; and to lodge that power solely in a court martial. For the arguments against this proposal I refer my readers to a pamphlet written by Lord Hervey, at the desire of the King and Queen, corrected by Sir Robert Walpole, and entitled *The Conduct of the Opposition and the Tendency of Modern Patriotism, etc.*; which pamphlet I shall put into the Appendix to these Memoirs.¹ The bill to make the officers' commissions for life was moved in both Houses the same day, and rejected in both by a great majority. Feb. 13

Immediately after the bill was rejected a motion was made in both Houses to address the King, to know who advised him to take away the regiments of the Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham, which motion had the same fate as its predecessor the bill. In the debate upon this second question, the Duke of Argyll, with the Duke of Bolton staring in his face all the while he was speaking, took occasion to say, he could not imagine what lords meant by coupling these two men together when they talked of the hardship of their being broke. "They are both men (said he) of great quality, it is true; and it is very certain that two colonels were broke, but of these two colonels I know of but one soldier." There had been an old grudge between the Duke of Argyll and the Duke of Bolton, which provoked the first to say this; but the Duke of Argyll was not commended for it, it being thought no great honour for him to try his wit or his courage with the Duke of Bolton, who was so little suspected of either. Besides, as there were many men of rank, honour, courage, and character at present in the army, who had never served abroad (a necessary consequence of twenty years'

¹Not reprinted; see p. 118.

1734 peace), the Duke of Argyll did not make his court much to them by this definition of a soldier, which was (when he was called upon by the Duke of Bolton to explain himself), that he could reckon nobody a soldier that had never served but in peace. In short, the Duke of Argyll got no honour by offering this injury; and the Duke of Bolton only lost none in his tame, cool manner of resenting it, because he had none to lose.

The bill to make the commissions of the officers for life was brought into the House of Lords by the Duke of Marlborough, to whom the King, whilst he was Lord Sunderland, had always shown a family dislike on his father's account; but this step so strengthened His Majesty's enmity, that "scoundrel, rascal, or blackguard," whenever he spoke of him in private after that occurrence, never failed of being tacked to his name. The Duke of Bedford, who had married Lady Di Spencer, the Duke of Marlborough's sister, rose little better in the King's good graces than his brother-in-law, being equally violent at this time in his opposition to the Court, and, like the Duke of Marlborough, under the absolute direction and government of Lord Carteret.

These two young dukes were of great consideration from their quality and their estates, and were as much alike in pride, violence of temper, and their public conduct, as they were different in their ways of thinking and acting in private life. The Duke of Marlborough was profuse, and never looked into his affairs; the Duke of Bedford covetous, and the best economist in the world. The Duke of Bedford was of such a turn as to have been able to live within his fortune if it had been fifty times less; and the Duke of Marlborough to have run his out had it been fifty times greater. This made Lord Hervey often pay his court to the King (who hated them both) by saying His Majesty would in a very few years see these two men as inconsiderable as any two in the kingdom, the one from giving nothing, and the other from having nothing to give. These two brothers

were as unlike in their understandings as in the particulars 1734
I have already mentioned. The understanding of the Duke
of Marlborough was quite uncultivated, and that of the
Duke of Bedford extremely cultivated without being the
better for it. The one was incapable of application, the
other had a great deal. The Duke of Marlborough wanted
materials, the Duke of Bedford to know how to use them.
And as the one in company, conscious of his ignorance,
was generally diffident and silent, the other was always
assured, talkative, and decisive, so that the Duke of
Marlborough was sensible he wanted knowledge, whilst
the Duke of Bedford had knowledge and was not sensible
he wanted parts.

The proposal I have mentioned, of making the officers' commissions for life, being not agreeable to the people, and a thing that seemed rather calculated personally to insult the King than to distress or attack his ministers, posterity will naturally be surprised that so many great and able men as were now embarked in the Opposition could make so injudicious a step and pitch upon so improper a point to labour. It proceeded in part from a desire to make a compliment to Lord Cobham, and to revive the clamour raised on the dismission of so old and creditable an officer. But the chief reason of it was this. The Opposition did not yet despair of gaining Lord Scarborough over to their party, and Lord Chesterfield having told them all that in the late reign, when this thing was very near being brought into Parliament, Lord Scarborough had declared vehemently for it, they all concluded that Lord Scarborough would be caught in this business, as he had been in the South Sea affair the preceding year, and think himself bound to promote that in public which he had professed approving in private.

But this scheme, well as it was laid, did not take effect; for Lord Scarborough not only voted but spoke very warmly against the bill. He owned in his speech that he had formerly been of a different opinion in this matter

1734 when cursorily examined, but that upon mature deliberation he had changed his mind; and though he once only considered this scheme in the light of a point gained upon the Crown that would incapacitate any prince from abusing this power of displacing officers, yet, when he came to reflect on the inconveniences that would attend the lodging that power in the hands proposed, he found those inconveniences much greater, and attended with more danger to the liberties of the people, than leaving it where it was, as it would create an independency in the army that might in time make it capable of overturning the whole civil government.

However, Lord Scarborough was not satisfied with this public declaration; he was afraid, notwithstanding, that people might impute his speaking and acting in this manner to interest, rather than conviction, and resolved to prove that interest was not his motive. In order to do so, the morning before the debate came on he wrote a letter to the King to tell him the situation he was in, and, as the only way he had left to show the world, who might be busy with his character on this occasion, that his behaviour was the result of his opinion, and not of any mean complaisance to keep his employments, he begged to resign them; assuring the King at the same time that he did not take this step from any mixture of disgust or want of zeal for his service; that he was as firmly attached as ever in affection to His Majesty's person, and as zealous to promote and as ready to declare he approved all his measures as formerly; that he had not the least complaint against any of his ministers; and that he would convince the world, by doubling if possible his assiduity in His Majesty's service in Parliament, that he had no other reason for taking this resolution of quitting his employments but to avoid the trap which he saw laid for him, and out of which he had no other way of extricating himself with honour and reputation.

The day after he wrote this letter the King desired to

see him, made him great professions of kindness and esteem, and insisted on his taking a few days more to consider of this business before he came to any final determination. The Queen saw him too, and talked to him in the same strain: she said afterwards that she never saw any man in such agitation and perplexity in her life; and that Lord Scarborough had told her he had not possessed himself, or been able to sleep, since he knew of this business being certainly to come into the House, from the anxiety he was in, and the not knowing how to act in such a manner as should do justice both to his opinion and to his character. Sir Robert Walpole, the Duke of Newcastle, Mr. Pelham, and Lord Lonsdale, all pressed him extremely to change his resolution, saying it would certainly be thought by all mankind that discontent had induced him to take it; consequently, his persisting in it must hurt those to whom he wished well, and give credit and strength to the party who endeavoured to distress the Court and destroy the Administration. These representations so far prevailed, that he was persuaded to keep his regiment and remain of the Cabinet Council, but his Mastership of the Horse he resigned in form the following week. The parting *Feb. 22* between his master and him on this occasion was so tender, that they embraced like equals and wept like lovers.¹

The Opposition triumphed a good deal on the first news of Lord Scarborough's having quitted, but their triumph was short, for he soon after took occasion in the House to declare himself more warmly in the interest of the Court than he had ever done before, and continued so to do, upon every point in debate, during the whole session.

This made every man who opposed the Court condemn his conduct, and say he had tied himself down a greater slave to the Administration by this strange, injudicious manner of quitting an employment than any the most

¹The King told him that "he had for nineteen years looked on him as a friend more than a servant." He had stood by George II. in the quarrel in the royal family in the previous reign. (Egmont, ii. 334.)

1734 mercenary tool had ever done by accepting one. Some said it was a sort of Don Quixotism in politics; others, who had a mind to be more abusive, called him the Sir Paul Methuen of the House of Lords; and Sir Robert Walpole himself, in speaking of Lord Scarborough's behaviour at this time to Lord Hervey, laughed, shrugged his shoulders, shook his head, and pointed to his forehead.¹

The Duke of Richmond asked the King immediately to succeed Lord Scarborough, and the King was not averse to granting his request any further than he was always averse to giving anything to anybody. Many ingredients concurred to form this reluctance in His Majesty to bestowing. One was that, taking all his notions from a German measure, he thought every man who served him in England overpaid. Another was, that while employments were vacant he saved the salary. But the most prevalent of all was his never having the least inclination to oblige. I do not believe there ever lived a man to whose temper benevolence was so absolutely a stranger. It was a sensation that, I dare say, never accompanied any one act of his power; so that whatever good he did was either extorted from him, or was the adventitious effect of some self-interested act of policy. Consequently, if any seeming favour he conferred ever obliged the receiver, it must have been because the man on whom it fell was ignorant of the motives from which the giver bestowed it.² I remember Sir Robert Walpole saying once, in speaking to me of the King, that to talk with him of compassion, consideration

¹He blew his brains out on the 29th January, 1740, in order, it was believed, to avoid honouring a promise to marry the Duchess of Manchester whenever her husband should die. (See Egmont, iii. 107, for this and various other scandals about his private life.)

²Lady Suffolk told Horace Walpole that George II. was not naturally mean and that his thrifty habits were the result of an inadequate allowance in his youth. She said that he "would often, on her telling him of any melancholy case, give her little pensions of 30 or 40 guineas a year out of his own pocket, but insist on her not letting it be known." (*Reminiscences*, ed Toynbee, p. 113.)

of past services, charity, and bounty, was pouring sounds 2734 into his ears but it was making use of words that with him had no meaning. This habit of keeping employments vacant drew him often into great difficulties, and was necessarily attended with many inconveniences; for, as delay on such occasions always begets competitors, so of course it not only increases the number of the refused, and consequently of the disengaged, whenever the disposal is made, but also lessens, if not cancels, the obligation even towards them whose solicitation at last prevails, people very naturally and very reasonably thinking themselves not bound to do much towards repaying any benefit when they have been made to do a great deal towards earning it. They consider all that previous trouble as so much advanced in part of payment, and never fail to make allowances for it when they come to balance the account in what they think they remain in debt to their benefactor.

The King's neither giving the Duke of Richmond this employment immediately, nor directly promising it, embarrassed His Majesty afterwards extremely, when Lord Pembroke asked it, as it laid him under the necessity of giving the preference to one of them in his choice, when he need have given the preference only to the first comer, which the last cannot or ought not ever to take ill.

Lord Pembroke's pretensions to this office were certainly very reasonable, as he was a man of great quality, of an extreme good character, beloved by everybody who knew him, and had served the King twenty years in the bedchamber, without any other preferment than a regiment, in exchange for which he had quitted a troop of Guards, for which he had paid £10,000.

The Duke of Richmond's plea was not weaker as to character, and was stronger as to quality, especially at this Court, where the difference of coronets was often much more considered than the difference of the heads that wore them. He made great expenses, too, in elections, and was thoroughly zealous both for the Government and the

1734 Administration. There never lived a man of a more amiable composition; he was friendly, benevolent, generous, honourable, and thoroughly noble in his way of acting, talking, and thinking; he had constant spirits, was very entertaining, and had a great deal of knowledge, though, not having had a school education, he was a long while reckoned ignorant by the generality of the world, who are as apt to call every man a blockhead that does not understand Greek and Latin, as they are to think many of those no blockheads who understand nothing else. His being grandson to King Charles II., I must confess, prejudiced people much more reasonably against his understanding, and contributed extremely to its being underrated till he came to be thoroughly known. For, as fish with wings, instead of fins, would hardly be a greater prodigy than a Stuart with sense, so people had the utmost difficulty without their own auricular conviction to conceive there could be one Lot of sense out of that Sodom of fools.

I cannot help mentioning, before I quit this head of the King's ungenerous disposition, two instances, which I think such strong proofs of it, that, to people who know not the millions of corroborating testimonies one might bring, they would be alone sufficient to demonstrate it.

The instances I mean are my Lord Lifford, and his sister, Lady Charlotte de Roucy.¹ These two people, born in France, having more religion than sense, left their native country on account of being Protestants; and being of great quality, and not in great circumstances, had, during four reigns, subsisted upon the scanty charity of the English Court. They were constantly, every night in the country, and three nights in the week in town, alone with

¹Children of Frederic Charles de la Rochefoucauld, Comte de Roye et de Roucy, of a Huguenot branch of the Rochefoucauld family, who withdrew from France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and ultimately settled in England. His son, Frederick William, was created Earl of Lifford by William III. in 1698 and served in the British army in command of a refugee regiment during the reigns of William III. and Anne.

the King and Queen for an hour or two before they went to bed, during which time the King walked about and talked to the brother of armies, or to the sister of genealogies, whilst the Queen knotted and yawned, till from yawning she came to nodding, and from nodding to snoring.

These two poor miserable Court drudges were in more constant waiting than any of the pages of the back stairs, were very simple and very inoffensive, did nobody any hurt, nor gave anybody but His Majesty any pleasure, who paid them so ill for all their assiduity and slavery, that they were not only not in affluence, but laboured under the disagreeable burdens of small debts (which a thousand pounds would have paid), and had not an allowance from the Court that enabled them to appear there even in the common decency of clean clothes. The King, nevertheless, was always saying how well he loved them, and calling them the best people in the world. But, though he never forgot their goodness, he never remembered their poverty; and by affording them so much of his time, which nobody but him would have given them, and so little of his money, which everybody but him in his situation would have afforded them, he gave one just as good an opinion of his understanding by what he bestowed, as he did of his generosity by what he withheld. The Queen, whose most glaring merit was not that of giving, was certainly with regard to this poor woman as blameable as the King. For the playthings of princes, let them be ever so trifling, ought always to be gilt, those who contribute to their pleasure having a right to their bounty. To most people, however, it was a matter of wonder how the King and Queen could have such insipid animals constantly with them. The truth of the case was that the King had no taste for better company, and the Queen, though she had a better taste, was forced to mortify her own to please his. Her predominant passion was pride, and the darling pleasure of her soul was power; but she

1734 was forced to gratify the one and gain the other, as some people do health, by a strict and painful régime, which few besides herself could have had patience to support, or resolution to adhere to. She was at least seven or eight hours tête-à-tête with the King every day, during which time she was generally saying what she did not think, assenting to what she did not believe, and praising what she did not approve; for they were seldom of the same opinion, and he too fond of his own for her ever at first to dare to controvert it ("consilii quamvis egregii quod ipse non afferret, inimicus"). She used to give him her opinion as jugglers do a card, by changing it imperceptibly, and making him believe he held the same with that he first pitched upon. But that which made these tête-à-têtes seem heaviest was that as he neither liked reading nor being read to (unless it was to sleep) she was forced, like a spider, to spin out of her own bowels all the conversation with which the fly was taken. However, to all this she submitted for the sake of power, and for the reputation of having it; for she was with regard to this as some men are to their amours, the vanity of being thought to possess what she desired was equal to the pleasure of the possession itself. But, either for the appearance or the reality, she knew it was absolutely necessary to have interest in her husband, as she was sensible that interest was the measure by which people would always judge of her power. Her every thought, word, and act therefore tended and was calculated to preserve her influence there; to him she sacrificed her time, for him she mortified every inclination; she looked, spake, and breathed but for him, was a weathercock to every capricious blast of his uncertain temper, and governed him (if influence so gained can bear the name of government) by being as great a slave to him thus ruled, as any other wife could be to a man who ruled her. For all the tedious hours she spent then in watching him whilst he slept, or the heavier task of entertaining him whilst he was awake, her single consolation was in

reflecting she had power, and that people in coffee-houses ¹⁷³⁴ and ruelles¹ were saying she governed this country, without knowing how dear the government of it cost her.

But to return from this digression to the proceedings of the Parliament this winter, I must relate how the three points most apprehended went off. The debt of the navy the opponents could make nothing of. £1,200,000 was given out to the sinking-fund towards the discharge of *Mar. 11* part of it, and this in debate was called a misapplication of the sinking-fund. But nobody in either House pretended to find any material fault in the manner in which the debt had been incurred. Not that there were no faults to be found, but the intricacy of the account, and the ignorance of those who had undertaken to sift it, kept those faults from the light.

The bill for Triennial Parliaments was proposed in the House of Commons, but rejected by a great majority, and never brought at all into the House of Lords.

The Prince's affair was often talked of in private, but never mentioned in either House. He contrived to irritate the Court by alarming them with caballing, and to disoblige those with whom he caballed by stopping there, and not giving his consent to have it prosecuted in Parliament. The Tories and discontented Whigs were so dissatisfied with his conduct that they abused him more than they did his father and said that he had only drawn them in to make the offer of standing by him that he might make a merit to his father of rejecting that offer and betraying them. On the other hand his father and mother, though they were frightened out of their senses if they thought their son's name was near being mentioned in Parliament, whenever these fears abated treated him in the most provoking manner and spoke of him in the most contemptuous terms.

Dodington, who governed the Prince at present, was afraid of having him quite reconciled to the King or

¹"A circle; assembly at a private house" (Johnson's Dictionary).

1734 quite broke with him, foreseeing that in either of these situations the Prince would be inevitably taken out of his hands. In the one he would be governed by his mother, and consequently by Sir Robert Walpole; in the other by Pulteney, Lord Chesterfield, or Lord Carteret, who, as heads of the party, could never have submitted to act a subordinate part to Mr. Dodington, whom no man but himself would have thought of a rank above them.

Other questions that were started by the Opposition during this session, as they were too immaterial to give much disturbance, so they were of too little consequence to be repeated. Nor ought anybody to wonder that things were no better concerted or managed against the Court, when those who naturally ought to have acted in concert for the management of these affairs were most of them as ill with one another as with those they opposed. Lord Carteret and Lord Bolingbroke had no correspondence at all; Mr. Pulteney and Lord Bolingbroke hated one another; Lord Carteret and Pulteney were jealous of one another; Sir William Wyndham and Pulteney the same; whilst Lord Chesterfield had a little correspondence with them all, but was confided in by none of them.

In pursuance of estimates given in from the Crown,
Jan. 28 20,000 men were voted this year in Parliament for the
Feb. 6 sea service, and an augmentation of 1,800 for the land forces. The demand for the sea service met with no opposition, and the other with much less than it would have done had the true reason for asking such an augmentation been avowed or known.

The pretence for asking it was this. Two years before, when the Spaniards made their ridiculous expedition to Oran, the garrison of Gibraltar consisted only of 2,400 men; and as Spain, whilst she was making these vast preparations and armaments both by sea and land, thought it proper not to declare for what purpose they were designed, the English ministers, not knowing but some new attack upon Gibraltar might be intended, sent over three

regiments upon the English establishment, in all 1,800 ~~1,734~~ men, to strengthen that garrison.

Soon after, when the Spanish storm broke upon the African coast, and Gibraltar was thought in safety, these troops were ordered back; but, before those orders were executed, new troubles arising in Europe on the death of the King of Poland, and the turn Spain would take not being known, the orders for the return of these three regiments were retracted. The demand now made in Parliament therefore was explained to be in reality an augmentation for the garrison of Gibraltar, since these 1,800 men were only desired to complete the number voted the year before for the English establishment, and to supply those three regiments the King had thought fit to remove from home for the security of that place.

This sounded plausibly; and in order to make the grant of this demand come easier, instead of three new regiments being raised, it was proposed to make the augmentation by the cheaper way of adding private men only to every company.

But the true reason of this augmentation was to secure the Ministry and strengthen the hands of the Government in case of insurrections, or any disturbances that might arise, whilst the nation was in the ferment of elections for a new Parliament. Sir Robert Walpole's apprehensions were very strong upon this score, and his reason for making the augmentation by adding private men to corps, instead of raising new entire corps, was not because he thought it the cheapest method, but because he looked upon it as the speediest and most effectual; new-raised regiments being in his opinion never of any use the first year, and the first year in this case being the time when he expected to have most use for them.

The King and the Queen, who always considered soldiers as the principal supports both of their grandeur and their power, were glad of any pretence to increase their number, and caressed Sir Robert Walpole extremely

1734 for tracing out a way by which a thing they were so desirous of, and the whole nation so averse to, could be done with so little difficulty. So that he contrived to have all the merit of inventing this scheme to Their Majesties, and to avoid all the odium of it among those of his adherents who disliked it, by saying it was a point on which the King was so peremptory and so obstinate, that it was impossible for him to avoid giving in to it; by which means he at once made his court to the King and Queen, his excuse to his friends, and a provision for his own security.

But this provision did not yet seem sufficient, and before the dissolution of the Parliament, at the very end of the session, he made this expiring Parliament on its deathbed leave him a legacy that was a full antidote to all his fears. This legacy (a vote of credit being an obnoxious title) was christened a vote of confidence, a name it richly deserved, for never in time of peace was so unlimited a confidence lodged in the hands of the Crown before. This vote of confidence not only gave the King a power during the interval of Parliament to augment his forces without limitation, both by land and sea, but a promissory note was tacked to it, of making good any engagements made or to be made by His Majesty for the interest, honour, and safety of the nation, or as the exigence of affairs should require. Authority by Act of Parliament also was given him to apply what sum he thought fit out of all the money granted for the current service of the year for these purposes, and all the security the Parliament had for no misapplication being made of this credit, nor any abuse of this power, was a little cajolery (inserted at the end of the message sent from the Crown to make this demand) that promised an account should be laid before the next Parliament of the use that had been made of the generosity of its predecessor.

Mar. 28. This message was sent to both Houses, and the debates
29 in both Houses upon it were very warm. Those who

objected to this unlimited confidence being placed in the ¹⁷³⁴ Crown said, though this vote was not called a vote of credit, yet it was in effect the most extensive, and consequently the most improper, credit that was ever given to the Crown; that it would have been more for the honour of Parliament, and less dangerous to the liberties of the people, to have voted any sum of money or any number of troops in the common Parliamentary methods at the beginning of the session, than to allow one man or one shilling to be raised in a manner so repugnant to the nature of our Constitution; that it was sapping the foundation and defeating the very end of Parliaments, as it was making a farce of granting money upon estimates, if, by one unappropriating clause, a power was afterwards given to the King of applying what was beneficially granted for one use to any other purpose he should think fit; and if promises were made, when that money was squandered in unnecessary expenses, that they would afterwards find more, to defray those charges that were necessary.

It was more than hinted, too, that this credit was asked by the King only to get money to buy a Parliament at the next elections, which Parliament would afterwards no doubt have gratitude enough to pass any account brought by their benefactor, or discharge any debt contracted in their service.

Those who spoke for this vote of confidence said that the reason why more money and troops were not demanded at the beginning of the session was that, as the King could not know beforehand what situation the affairs of Europe would be in at the opening of the campaign, so the most that could possibly be wanted must have been asked had the demand been made then; whereas, a discretionary power being now lodged in the Crown to measure the expenses of the nation by the necessity of the occasion, and to proportion it to the call, the least that could be wanted might be applied. Consequently, in one case the nation might have been put to an unnecessary

1734 charge; in the other, without an abuse of this power supposed, there need not one farthing be expended more than the circumstances of the times absolutely require.

That as to the misapplication of money, as an account was to be laid before Parliament of all that was disbursed in consequence of this vote, so the Parliament would be as good judges, by a subsequent account as by a previous estimate, whether the expense was necessarily incurred or not; and a minister would be as much responsible with his head for any abuse that should be made of it as he would be for taking any sum of money granted for one purpose and applying it to another.

It was further urged that, the French fleet lying then in sight of our coasts, if the enemies to this Government had counselled France to take the opportunity of the confusion of elections and the interval of Parliament to give us any molestation, it would not be very advisable to seem improvident against such an undertaking; nor could it be called a blow to the Constitution for the Parliament previously to counsel the King in such circumstances to do that in defence of his crown and people, which, if occasion required, he must do without their counsel.

After a very long debate in both Houses, the question was carried in both by a great majority. In the House of Lords a very strong protest was made against it, but strong protests were grown so frequent that they were little regarded. The only use they were of was, when they were printed at the end of the session, and dispersed like pamphlets about the country, to raise clamour against the Administration, and create disaffection to the Government; and as these ennobled "Craftsmen," signed with the names of thirty or forty people of the first quality and consideration in the kingdom, tallied with the anonymous "Craftsmen," so these annual invectives gave weight to those weekly libels, and added the force of authority to the natural insinuation of censure and calumny.

Nor was writing ever in England at a higher pitch,

either for learning, strength of diction, or elegance of style, than in this reign. All the good writing, too, was confined to political topics, either of civil, military, or ecclesiastical government, and all the tracts on these subjects printed in pamphlets. It might very properly be called the Augustan age of England for this kind of writing. Not that there was any similitude between the two princes who presided in the Roman and English Augustan ages besides their names, for George Augustus neither loved learning nor encouraged men of letters, nor were there any Mæcenases about him. There was another very material difference too between these two Augustuses. For as personal courage was the only quality necessary to form a great prince which the one was suspected to want, so I fear it was the only one the other was ever thought to possess.

The Queen (who never cared to have Liffords, Miremonts,¹ and Charlotte de Roucys with her but for the King's amusement) loved reading and the conversation of men of wit and learning. But she did not dare to indulge herself as much as she wished to do in this pleasure for fear of the King, who often rebuked her for dabbling in all that lettered nonsense (as he termed it), called her a pedant, and said she loved to spend her time more like a schoolmistress than a queen. The King used often to brag of the contempt he had for books and letters; to say how much he hated all that stuff from his infancy; and that he remembered when he was a child he did not hate reading and learning merely as other children do upon account of the confinement, but because he despised it and felt as if he was doing something mean and below him.

The Queen had formerly read a great deal, but after her coming to the throne she had very little time for reading. She understood good writing too in English, the

¹Armand de Bourbon, Marquis de Miremont, another Huguenot refugee. He had a pension of £1,000 a year for life on the Civil List of Ireland.

1734 harmony of numbers in verse, the beauty of style in prose, and the force and propriety of terms much better than anybody who had only heard her speak English would ever have thought possible. She had a most incredible memory and was as learned both in ancient and modern history as the most learned men. But as Lord Hervey often used to tell her, she was so profuse of her memory that one could not help grudging her a talent she so often squandered. For there was hardly a romance of ten or twenty volumes ever written of which she was not able to give as good and exact an account as to all the facts, the names of the people concerned in them, and their fictitious genealogies, as she could of any of the most remarkable incidents, or the most celebrated heroes, in the history of Greece and Rome; and was as well versed in pedigrees that were of no more signification than Pantagruel's in Rabelais as she was in those of every reigning prince then in Europe, which I believe she could have traced from the building of Rome or destruction of Troy to the present generation with all their intermarriages and bastards.

There was one sort of study she liked, but did not go near the bottom of it, and that was metaphysics. Those who had heard her talk on that subject and never on any other would have thought she had had as clouded a genius, as superficial a way of thinking, and as inconclusive a way of reasoning, as any head that ever was crowned. This might in part perhaps proceed from some little German prejudices and superstitions contracted by education and strengthened by the unenlightened instructors and companions of her early life, which their wiser successors here could not quite eradicate; and partly, it may be, from her not daring to speak her real opinion but by halves, and choosing rather to let people imagine she thought imperfectly, than to put it in anybody's power to say she talked imprudently. For as she knew she had the reputation of being a little heterodox in her notions, she often (as she has frequently owned) denied herself the pleasure of seeing

and conversing with men who lay under that imputation. 1734
And it is very probable the same way of reasoning might prevent her giving occasion any other way to the consequences she apprehended from these correspondences.

All the best writers against the Court were concerned in the *Craftsman*, which made it a much better written paper than any of that sort that were published on the side of the Court. The two best of these writers were Lord Bolingbroke and Mr. Pulteney, for Lord Chesterfield talked much better than he wrote, and talked in private much better than he spoke in public. Most of the protests this year, if not all, were drawn by him. Lord Carteret and Sir William Wyndham never wrote. The first would not, the last could not. Lord Bolingbroke and Pulteney were very different in their manner of writing. Lord Bolingbroke's was a flowing, flowered, declamatory, metaphorical, classical, correct, style; Pulteney's sharp but coarse, lively, but incorrect, and had more of the familiarity of speaking than the accuracy of writing. Lord Bolingbroke never rose into wit, nor ever sunk into vulgarisms. Pulteney's papers were full of both. The one was excessively laboured, the other quite easy. The one artful, the other natural. This always upon his guard when he thrust the most home, and that hardly ever striking without exposing himself at the same time, and as open to receive a wound, as dexterous in giving it.

The Bishops, Hare, Hoadly, and Sherlock, were the best writers for the Court, but none of these were concerned in the weekly papers, which being only written for hire, gave the readers as little pleasure, as they did service to their paymasters.

I must now give an account of the marriage of the Princess Royal, which I ought to have done previously to the account of the vote of confidence, as it preceded it about three weeks.

The Prince of Orange returned to Somerset House from the Bath the beginning of March in perfect health, and

1734 on the 14th of that month he was married. A covered gallery (through which the procession passed) was built from the King's apartment quite round the palace garden to the little French chapel adjoining to St. James's House (where the ceremony was performed). The gallery held four thousand people, was very finely illuminated, and, by the help of three thousand men who were that day upon guard, the whole was performed with great regularity and order, as well as splendour and magnificence. Lord Hervey had the care of the ceremonial, and drew the plan for the order of the procession, with which nobody but the Irish peers was dissatisfied. They insisted on walking in the procession, every class of them, at the end of the English and Scotch peers of the same rank. But as the English barons would not give place to the Irish earls and viscounts, Lord Hervey chose rather to disobliged these than the English peers, who declared they would not walk at all if any of the Irish were placed before them. Upon Lord Hervey's sticking to the point of leaving them quite out of the procession unless they would walk all together in a separate body (which he offered and they refused), they presented a petition to the King to do them what they called justice. The King and the Queen were both inclined to comply with their request; but upon Lord Hervey's telling the Queen that if they were indulged in this demand no English peer below the rank of an Earl would appear at all, and that the whole body of the English peerage would take it ill, the King only referred the petition of the Irish peers to the Cabinet Council, gave no answer to it, and let the matter drop. The House of Lords was not thought at this time to be in such a temper or situation with regard to the Court as made it advisable to run any risk of disobliging them (for this dispute arose in October, when the wedding-day was first appointed, and before the Parliament met).

All the indignation of the Irish peers fell on Lord Hervey, the Duke of Grafton (the Chamberlain), who

loved temporising, having insinuated to them that he had ¹⁷³⁴ nothing to do with this affair, and that Lord Hervey had taken the whole into his hands. When Lord Gage, an Irish viscount, and a petulant, silly, busy, meddling, profligate fellow, asked Lord Hervey why he had made no mention of the Irish peers in the ceremonial, Lord Hervey said, because, the Irish House of Lords being now sitting, he concluded they were all at Dublin, and that no Englishman could suppose them capable of being in two places at once. Lord Gage said it was very hard they might not have the same privileges on this occasion that they had on others. Lord Hervey answered that the last time this thing had been disputed was on the creation of the Knights of the Bath; that the younger sons of English earls had then refused to give place to the Irish Earl of Inchiquin and the Irish Viscount Tyrconnel; and that the expedient then found out to adjust the dispute was giving the ribbon to these two noble lords by themselves the day after all the others received it. If, therefore, the Irish lords pleased to terminate the present dispute the same way, he said he had no objection to it; the gallery should be left standing, and the Irish lords, if they pleased, should walk the next day. Lord Gage and all the other Irish lords to whom he repeated this conversation were very angry, as may easily be imagined, with Lord Hervey, and, had they not said a thousand impertinent things before of Lord Hervey, he would certainly have been in the wrong to have said this. The Scotch and English lords, however, were extremely pleased with his conduct in this affair, and as much displeased with my Lord Chamberlain's; applauding the one for having so strenuously asserted the rights of the peers of Great Britain, and equally condemning the other for having shown himself so ready to give them up. His Grace acted on this occasion as he did on most others, which was to decline acting at all, and consequently to disoblige those most who were most in the right; people who have justice on their side always looking upon neutrality as injury, and

1734 being to the full as much piqued against those whose business it is to stand by them for not declaring for them as if they declared against them.

The King once told the Duke of Grafton upon another occasion, that his Grace was always balancing whether he should speak truth or flatter those whom truth would disoblige.

His Grace's maxim was never to give a direct answer either to the most material or most indifferent question; so that the natural cloud of his understanding, thickened by the artificial cloud of his mistaken Court policy, made his meaning always as unintelligible as his conversation was unentertaining. By coming very young into the great world, being of great quality, and formerly very handsome, he had always kept the best company; and by living perpetually at Court he had all the routine of that style of conversation which is a sort of leaf gold, that is a great embellishment where it is joined to anything else, but makes a very poor figure by itself. To pass one's time with people who have only that *agrément*, in my opinion surfeits one as soon as feeding upon sugar; which, though it heightens the relish of many things it is mixed with, would quickly turn one's stomach if one was to eat it alone.

The hour appointed for all those who were to walk in the procession to assemble was seven at night. The bridegroom, with all the men, was in the Great Council Chamber; the bride, with all the ladies, in the Great Drawing-room; and the King and Queen, with their children and servants, in the King's lesser drawing-room. The Prince of Orange's whole retinue was as magnificent as gold and silver varied in brocade, lace, and embroidery could make them, and the jewels he gave the Princess of immense value, particularly the necklace, which was so large that twenty-two diamonds made the whole round of her neck.

The procession to and from the chapel was in the following manner:

Fife.

Four Drums.

Drum Major.

Eight Trumpets.

Kettle Drum.

Eight Trumpets.

Serjeant Trumpeter, in his collar of S.S. and bearing his mace.

These stood next to the door of the entry into the passage, and when they came to the door of the chapel, filed off, standing, upon each side.

The master of the ceremonies proceeded with one of the chiefest officers of the bridegroom.

Gentleman usher of the bridegroom between the two senior heralds.

The bridegroom in his nuptial apparel, invested with the collar of the Garter, conducted by his Grace the Duke of Grafton, Lord Chamberlain, and the Right Hon. the Lord Hervey, Vice-Chamberlain, and supported by the Earls of Scarborough and Wilmington, Knights of the Garter, being both bachelors, wearing their collars.

The officers attendants upon the bridegroom followed by pairs, those of the greatest quality going nearest to his person.

Upon the entry into the chapel, the Master of the Ceremonies, with the gentleman usher and attendants on the bridegroom, was brought by his conductors and supporters to the stool placed for His Highness next below His Majesty's Chair of State on the Haut-pas, his supporters retiring to their seats where they remained according to their precedencies among the peers. The Lord Chamberlain and Vice-Chamberlain returned back to conduct the bride, and the two heralds returned with them to perform other functions.

The drums and trumpets likewise returned to their first station without playing and then played in like manner before the procession of the bride, and did the same in the procession of His and Her Majesty.

PROCESSION OF THE BRIDE.

Gentleman usher to the bride between two provincial kings of arms.

The bride in her nuptial habit, with a coronet, conducted by the Lord Chamberlain and Vice-Chamberlain, and supported by the Prince of Wales and the Duke, wearing the collar of the Garter; her train borne by ten young ladies, daughters of Dukes and Earls

1734 appointed for this purpose, those of the highest degrees nearest her person, all dressed in white habits, viz. the Lady Fanny Manners, Lady Caroline Campbell, Lady Louisa Bertie, Lady Caroline Pierpoint, Lady Betty Seymour, Lady Ann Cecil, Lady Die Gray, Lady Caroline Darcy, Lady Fanny Montague, Lady Fanny Pierpoint.

The Prince of Wales was preceded by his servants one by one in a line before him; the Duke and the bride in the same manner by their servants.

Unmarried ladies, daughters of peers, proceeded by pairs, those of the highest degrees going nearest to the bride.

Peeresses proceeded by pairs in like manner.

Upon the entry the bride was conducted to her stool, placed below Her Majesty's Chair of State, and opposite to that of the bridegroom. The Prince of Wales and the Duke retired to the stools for them upon one side of the altar: all their retinues upon their entry into the chapel, went to the seats allotted to them, excepting those who bore the train, who stood near the bride to perform their duties while the marriage was solemnizing. The Lord Chamberlain and Vice-Chamberlain retired with the Provincial Kings to wait upon His Majesty.

His Majesty proceeded in this manner:

Knight marshal.

Pursuivants.

Heralds.

Knights of the Bath not peers, in the collar of their order went by pairs according to seniority, the juniors first; and privy counsellors not peers in the same manner.

Sir Robert Walpole, Knight of the Garter, with his collar, single.

Sir Conyers Darcy, Knight of the Bath, in his collar, single, in his place appointed for him as Comptroller of the Household.

Barons.

Bishops in their episcopal habits.

Viscounts.

Earls.

Marquesses.

Dukes. Each degree proceeding by two, according to their respective precedencies.

All the peers, Companions of the Garter, or of the Thistle, or of the Bath, wore their respective collars.

Two Provincial Kings of Arms.

Lord Privy Seal.

Lord Chancellor.

Garter Principal King of Arms, between two gentlemen ushers. 1734
The Earl Marshal with his gold staff.

The Sword of State borne by the Duke of Montagu, Knight of the Garter, and supported by the Lord Chamberlain and Vice-Chamberlain.

His Majesty in the great collar of the Garter.

Captain of the Guards, having upon his right the Captain of the Band of Pensioners, and upon his left the Captain of the Yeomen of the Guards.

The Earl of Pembroke, Lord of the Bedchamber in waiting.

Sir Robert Rich and Colonel Campbell, the two Grooms of the Bedchamber in waiting.

Her Majesty, preceded by Mr. Coke, Vice-Chamberlain, and supported by the Earl of Grantham, her Lord Chamberlain, and the Earl of Pomfret, her Master of the Horse.

The Princesses Amelia, Caroline, Mary and Louisa, supported severally by two gentlemen ushers.

The Ladies of Her Majesty's Bedchamber, Maids of Honour, and Women of the Bedchamber: each of these degrees going by pairs according to their precedencies.

The Gentlemen Pensioners went in two rows on each side.

All persons in this procession, upon their entry into the chapel, retired to the several places appointed for each degree or class, and none remained upon the Haut-pas, except the Lord of the Bedchamber, in waiting behind the King, the Lord who bore the Sword, who continued holding it erect upon His Majesty's right hand, and the Lord Chamberlain, who stood upon the left hand of His Majesty, having the Vice-Chamberlain near him.

His Majesty was seated in his Chair of State in the upper angle of the Haut-pas, on the right side.

Her Majesty was seated in her Chair of State on the other side of the Haut-pas, and the four princesses on the stools placed next to the Duke at the side of the altar.

Her Majesty's Lord Chamberlain, Master of the Horse, and Vice-Chamberlain, stood upon the Haut-pas behind her.

The Ladies of the Bedchamber, Maids of Honour, and Women of the Bedchamber, went to the places assigned for them.

Garter King of Arms, with the Heralds, to a place assigned for them.

During all this time, and from the first appearance of the procession, the organ played; and all persons being thus seated in their places, the organ ceased, and then divine service began.

After the Bishop of London, as Dean of the Chapel, had given

1734 the blessing, Their Majesties removed to the traverse erected at one side of the altar. The Prince of Orange then leading the Princess, they went up to the rails of the altar, and kneeled there.

When the Dean had finished the Service in the Liturgy, the married couple rose and retired back to their stools upon the Haut-pas, where they remained while the anthem was sung.

The return was in the manner following:

The drums and trumpets as before.

The master of the ceremonies, with a chief officer of the bride.

Bridegroom's gentleman usher as before, with two heralds.

The Prince of Orange, supported by two married Dukes, Knights of the Garter, viz., the Dukes of Richmond and Rutland.

The officers of the bridegroom and attendants as before.

The gentleman usher of the Princess Royal, with two Kings of Arms.

The Princess, supported by her two brothers.

Her train carried in the same way as going to the chapel.

All the married ladies by pairs, those of the greatest quality going nearest to the princess.

All the unmarried ladies, who in the entry preceded the married ladies, now followed by pairs according to their degrees.

Then His Majesty in the same manner as he went to the chapel attended as before, excepting that the heralds supplied the rooms of the Provincial Kings who attended the Princess and Her Majesty in the like manner the princesses in the former method.

As soon as the procession came back to the door of the lesser drawing-room, the company stopped, but Their Majesties, the Prince of Wales, the Duke, the bride and bridegroom, and the Princesses went in, and then the Prince of Orange and Princess kneeled and asked Their Majesties' blessing.

About eleven the Royal Family supped in public in the great State Ball-room. Their Majesties were placed at the upper end of the table under a canopy; on the right hand sat the Prince of Wales, the Duke, and the Prince of Orange, and on the left the Princess Royal and the Princesses Amelia, Caroline, Mary and Louisa: the Countess of Hertford carved. About one the bride and bridegroom retired, and were afterwards seen by the nobility, etc., sitting up in their bed in rich undresses.

All people of quality, such as peers' sons, and their ladies, the married daughters of peers, and other persons of distinction that did not walk in the procession, had a gallery prepared for them in the chapel, to see the ceremony there.

The chapel was fitted up with an extreme good taste, 2734 and as much finery as velvets, gold and silver tissue, balloons, fringes, tassels, gilt lustres, and sconces could give. The King spared no expense on this occasion; but if he had not loved a show better than his daughter, he would have chosen rather to have given her this money to make her circumstances easy, than to have laid it out in making her wedding splendid.

He behaved himself well during the ceremony; but her mother and sisters were under so much undisguised and unaffected concern the whole time, that the procession to the chapel, and the scene there, looked more like the mournful pomp of a sacrifice than the joyful celebration of a marriage, and put one rather in mind of an Iphigenia leading to the altar than of a bride.

The Prince of Orange was a less shocking and less ridiculous figure in this pompous procession and at supper than one could naturally have expected such an *Æsop*, in such trappings and such eminence, to have appeared. He had a long peruke like hair that flowed all over his back, and hid the roundness of it; and as his countenance was not bad there was nothing very strikingly disagreeable but his stature.

But when he was undressed, and came in his night-gown and nightcap into the room to go to bed, the appearance he made was as indescribable as the astonished countenances of everybody who beheld him. From the make of his brocaded gown, and the make of his back, he looked behind as if he had no head, and before as if he had no neck and no legs. The Queen, in speaking of the whole ceremony next morning alone with Lord Hervey, when she came to mention this part of it, said, "Ah! mon Dieu! quand je voyois entrer ce monstre, pour coucher avec ma fille, j'ai pensé m'évanouir; je chancelois auparavant, mais ce coup là m'a assommée. Dites-moi, my Lord Hervey, avez-vous bien remarqué et considéré ce monstre dans ce moment? et n'aviez-vous pas bien pitié de la

1734 pauvre Anne? Bon Dieu! c'est trop sotte en moi, mais j'en pleure encore." Lord Hervey turned the discourse as fast as he was able, for this was a circumstance he could not soften and would not exaggerate. He only said, "Lord! Madam, in half a year all persons are alike. The figure of the body one's married to, like the prospect of the place one lives at, grows so familiar to one's eye, that one looks at it mechanically, without regarding either the beauties or deformities that strike a stranger." "One may, and I believe one does (replied the Queen), grow blind at last; but you must allow, my dear Lord Hervey, there is a great difference, as long as one sees, in the manner of one's growing blind."

The sisters spoke much in the same style as the mother, with horror of his figure, and great commiseration of the fate of his wife. Princess Emily lied and said nothing upon earth should have induced her to marry the monster. Princess Caroline, in her soft sensible way, spoke truth, and said she must own it was very bad; but that, in her sister's situation, all things considered, she believed she should have come to the same resolution.

What seems most extraordinary was that from the time of their being married till they went out of England, Lord Hervey (who was perpetually with them, and at whose lodgings they passed whole evenings) said that she always behaved to him as if he had been an Adonis, and that he hardly ever took any notice at all of her nor gave her one look (that he had observed) by which one could have guessed that they had ever slept in the same sheets. But she made prodigious court to him, addressed everything she said to him, and applauded everything he said to anybody else.

The Prince of Wales forced himself to be tolerably civil to the Prince of Orange during his stay here; but with the Queen and the Princess Royal he kept so little measure, that the one he never saw but in public, and the other he hardly ever spoke to either in public or private.

One of his wise quarrels with the Princess Royal was ¹⁷³⁴ her "daring to be married before him," and consenting to take a portion from the Parliament, and an establishment from her father, before those honours and favours were conferred upon him. As if her being married prevented his being so, or that the daughter should decline being settled because her father declined the settling of her brother.

Another judicious subject of his enmity was her supporting Handel, a German musician and composer (who had been her singing master, and was now undertaker of one of the operas), against several of the nobility who had a pique to Handel, and had set up another person to ruin him; or, to speak more properly and exactly, the Prince, in the beginning of his enmity to his sister, set himself at the head of the other opera to irritate her, whose pride and passions were as strong as her brother's (though his understanding was so much weaker), and could brook contradiction, where she dared to resent it, as little as her father.

What I have related may seem a trifle, but though the cause was indeed such, the effects of it were no trifles. The King and Queen were as much in earnest upon this subject as their son and daughter, though they had the prudence to disguise it, or to endeavour to disguise it, a little more. They were both Handelists, and sat freezing constantly at his empty Haymarket Opera, whilst the Prince with all the chief of the nobility went as constantly to that of Lincoln's Inn Fields. The affair grew as serious as that of the Greens and the Blues under Justinian at Constantinople. An anti-Handelist was looked upon as an anti-courtier, and voting against the Court in Parliament was hardly a less remissible or more venial sin than speaking against Handel or going to the Lincoln's Inn Fields Opera. The Princess Royal said she expected in a little while to see half the House of Lords playing in the orchestra in their robes and coronets; and the King (though

1734 he declared he took no other part in this affair than subscribing £1,000 a year to Handel) often added at the same time that he did not think setting oneself at the head of a faction of fiddlers a very honourable occupation for people of quality; or the ruin of one poor fellow so generous or so good-natured a scheme as to do much honour to the undertakers, whether they succeeded or not; but the better they succeeded in it, the more he thought they would have reason to be ashamed of it. The Princess Royal quarrelled with the Lord Chamberlain for affecting his usual neutrality on this occasion, and spoke of Lord Delaware, who was one of the chief managers against Handel, with as much spleen as if he had been at the head of the Dutch faction who opposed the making her husband Stadholder.

Another cause of the Prince of Wales's wrath to his mother and his sisters was the having Lord Hervey perpetually with them; a gold snuff-box the Queen bespoke, with Arts and Sciences engraved upon it, and gave to Lord Hervey, the Prince said was less in favour to Lord Hervey than to insult and outrage him, and that it was extremely hard a man whom the whole world knew had been so impertinent to him and whom he never spoke to should be picked out by the Queen for her constant companion and her most distinguished favourite.

He told his sisters that the reason of his coming so seldom to the Queen was Lord Hervey's always being there; that they knew he had as lief see the devil as Lord Hervey; that the Queen knew it too, and consequently he supposed kept Lord Hervey there to keep him away.

His sisters told him it was very strange that he should think of making a privilege of choosing his mother's companions one of the conditions of his paying his duty to her. They owned that Lord Hervey had been in the wrong to him once, but that he had behaved with great respect and seeming penitence ever since. They said, too, that this crime was committed two years ago; that the Queen had resented it at first; but when Lord Hervey had

done all he could to atone for his fault and was so assiduous ¹⁷³⁴ a servant in private and so useful to the Court in public, that it would neither be prudent in the Queen with regard to herself, nor just in her with regard to Lord Hervey, still to behave to him as if he was never to be forgiven, and that all his attachment, submission and services should for ever for the future be to no purpose.

Besides this they said that the King liked to have Lord Hervey with him and made him come to give an account of the proceedings of one House of Parliament or the other every day; in short that he was useful and agreeable both to the King and Queen, and though his crime had been of such a nature that the Prince might expect the Queen not to protect him at first, yet it was not of that sort that no repentance could wipe away the remembrance of it; and that if Lord Hervey's past conduct had deserved the Queen's anger, it must be owned too that by his behaviour ever since he had merited her forgiveness.

The Prince, who never forgot an injury or remembered an obligation, was not convinced by these arguments; nor indeed was the natural and insuperable obstinacy of his temper any more capable of receiving conviction from justice or compassion than his understanding was from the light of truth or the force of reason. The only effect therefore this language had upon him was to exasperate him towards his sisters and not to mollify him in the least towards Lord Hervey. When I speak of the Prince's sisters on this occasion I mean the Princess Royal and Princess Caroline. For the Princess Emily, besides the desire of making her court to her brother, was glad of any back to lash, and the sorer it was the gladder she was to strike. She had much the least sense (except her brother) of the whole family, but had for two years much the prettiest person. She was lively, false, and a great liar; did many ill offices to people and no good ones; and for want of prudence said almost as many shocking things to their faces as for want of a good-nature or truth she said

1734 disagreeable ones behind their backs. She had as many enemies as acquaintance, for nobody knew her without disliking her, nor was anybody acquainted with her without knowing her; and everybody in the Court being of the same opinion about her, people spoke their opinion with as little caution as variation. Her sister Caroline's character was just the reverse of hers. She was extremely sensible and not remarkably lively; and as the one would talk very freely of faults in people which she had never discovered, the other's good sense discovered faults which her good-nature prevented her talking of. The Princess Caroline had the finest complexion and the finest bright brown hair that could be seen. She had very pretty limbs too, but her person was rather too fat. She had affability without meanness, dignity without pride, cheerfulness without levity, and prudence without falsehood. She spent her whole time in reading and drawing, was a favourite neither with her mother nor her father, but was passionately fond of her eldest sister, and as well beloved by her as anybody could be that was neither a flatterer of her pride, nor a fool to her ambition. Not that the Princess Royal's pride and ambition were so strong as to get the better of all her passions, though they gave those of tenderness little room to work. Her behaviour to her brother was an instance of her resentment getting the better of her interest, though few other passions made that conquest. For though she had nothing more in point of money perhaps to expect from him, and that she did not care if he went to the devil, or perhaps wished him there, yet in her situation there might be so many contingencies to make the friendship of her brother of use to her hereafter that she ought in prudence to have behaved towards him in a manner that would have made his friendship less irretrievable.

The Princess Royal, with all her good sense, was very imprudent, too, with regard to her manner of talking of her father, and not quite grateful. For her father, as

flippant as he was in distributing the shocking effects of 1734 his prompt capricious temper to most people, gave so very small a portion of it to the Princess Royal, that he had, I think, a right to have her speak of it at least in the proportion she suffered by it. But she certainly did not love him, and in many occurrences showed it too plainly. She was glad of opportunities to point out his faults, and wherever these were small enough to admit of it she would magnify them and deepen the colours, without caution enough, too, to whom she ventured to communicate herself. After she had quarrelled with her brother she grew very intimate with Lord Hervey, but before that, she had hardly ever been commonly civil to him. For whilst Lord Hervey was well with the Prince she was jealous of his power there and spoke ill of him to weaken it; when he lost power, she spoke ill of him to make her court to her brother, and made a merit to the Prince of behaving to Lord Hervey in a manner which did not proceed from her friendship to the one but a propensity to hurt the other. But notwithstanding she must know that Lord Hervey had seen and felt these disengagements he had to her, yet when she took to having the appearance of being well with him she spoke as freely against her father to him as she had ever done to her brother of him. One day that the King was extremely out of humour and more than ordinarily froward, Lord Hervey, staying tête-à-tête with the Princess Royal in her apartment at Kensington (the King and Queen and her sisters were walking), said he could not imagine what had made the King so abominably cross all that day, for that no letters were come from abroad, and he did not know of anything that had gone ill at home. "My God!" replied the Princess Royal, "I am ashamed for you, who have been so long about Papa, to know so little of him as when he is the most peevish and snappish to think it is the most material things that have made him so. When great points go as he would not have them, he frets and is bad to himself; but when he is in his

1734 worst humours, and the devil to everybody that comes near him, it is always because one of his pages has powdered his periwig ill, or a housemaid set a chair where it does not use to stand, or something of that kind."

His passion, his pride, his vanity, his loving to talk of himself, his military declamations, his giving himself airs about women, the impossibility of being easy with him, his affectation of heroism, his unreasonable, simple, uncertain, disagreeable, and often shocking behaviour to the Queen, the difficulty of entertaining him, his insisting upon people's conversation who were to entertain him being always new, and his own being always the same thing over and over again, in short all his weaknesses, all his errors and all his faults, were the topics upon which at Kensington the summer after she was married (when she was most with Lord Hervey) she was for ever expatiating.

But to return to the chapter of her marriage. The two
Mar. 18 Houses on this occasion addressed the King, and sent messages of congratulation to the Queen. Lord Scarborough, in the House of Lords, moved the message to the Queen, and Lord Chesterfield, officiously thrusting himself in to second him, was appointed by the House with Lord Scarborough and Lord Hardwicke to carry it.

Lord Chesterfield being the eldest peer, it was his right to deliver the message and speak to the Queen. As he had never been at Court since the day after he was turned out, nor had ever been presented upon his marriage, the Queen determined to receive him as an Earl sent by the House of Lords whom she had never seen before in her life. He said he designed this step as a compliment to the Queen, and to show that he had no rancour except to Sir Robert Walpole; but she, who knew how he talked of her, and hated him as heartily as he did her, spoke of his conduct in presuming to force himself into this embassy as the greatest impertinence that he could be guilty of, and said that, as his capacity was capable of nothing but making jokes, so he had a mind to turn a compliment paid to her by

the House of Lords into one; or that he imagined perhaps 1734 his august, considerable figure would awe and disconcert her; but that he would find it was as little in his power for his presence to embarrass her, as for his raillery behind her back to pique her, or his consummate skill in politics to distress the King or his ministers.

The Queen was to receive this message in her bed-chamber, with nobody present but the three messengers, her children, and the servants in waiting; but Lord Hervey, thinking the interview would be something curious, asked her leave (which she granted) to stand behind her.

Lord Chesterfield's speech was well written and well got by heart, and yet delivered with a faltering voice, a face as white as a sheet, and every limb trembling with concern.

The Queen's answer was great and natural, and delivered with the same ease that she would have spoken to the most indifferent person in her circle.

She always disliked Lord Chesterfield, owned it, and used to say that it was because he had always disliked her. "Dicax enim, illam acerbis facetiis irridere solitus, quarum apud praepotentes in longum memoria est."¹ This remark was verified between the Queen and Lord Chesterfield, by whom she had been often this way provoked, and never forgot it nor forgave it. She has often told me that she knew at Leicester Fields he used formerly to turn her into ridicule, but that she had then frequently between jest and earnest advised him not to provoke her; telling him at the same time that though she acknowledged he had more wit than her, yet she would assure him she had a most bitter tongue, and would certainly pay him any debts of that kind with most exorbitant interest. She said he always used to deny the fact, and do it again the moment he got out of the room, or if she turned her head, without staying

¹ "He had a ready wit, and was in the habit of ridiculing her with bitter jests, which stick long and deep in the memory of the great." (Tacitus.)

1734 till he had turned his back. For a man of parts, the choosing to make his court to the King rather than to the Queen, and to Lord Townshend rather than Sir Robert Walpole, was a most unaccountable conduct, unless he thought the people that were easiest deceived were the likeliest for him to please, and that nobody was capable of being made his friend but in the same degree that they were capable of being made his dupes.

The City of London, the University of Oxford, and several other disaffected towns and incorporated bodies, took the opportunity of the Princess Royal's marriage to say the most impudent things to the King, under the pretence of complimentary addresses, that ironical zeal and couched satire could put together. The tenor of them all was to express their satisfaction in this match, from remembering how much this country was indebted to a Prince who bore the title of Orange; declaring their gratitude to his memory, and intimating, as plainly as they dared, how much they wished this man might follow the example of his great ancestor, and one time or other depose his father-in-law in the same manner that King William had deposed his.

The address of the City of London was thus epitomised in verse:

Most gracious Sire, behold before you
Your prostrate subjects that adore you,
The Mayor and Citizens of London,
By loss of trade and taxes undone,
Who come with gratulation hearty
(Altho' they're of the Country Party),
To wish your Majesty much cheer
On Anna's marriage with Myn'heer.
Our hearts presage, from this alliance,
The fairest hopes, the brightest triumphs;
For if one Revolution glorious
Has made us wealthy and victorious,
Another, by just consequence,
Must double both our power and pence.

We therefore hope that young Nassau,
Whom you have chose your son-in-law,
Will show himself of William's stock,
And prove a chip of the same block.

1734

By a blunder of the Duke of Grafton's, who always blundered nor ever knew what he was about, and had lived in a Court all his life without knowing even the common forms of it, when the City of London brought their address, none of those who presented it had the honour to kiss the King's hand. This was immediately told all over the kingdom; not as the effect of my Lord Chamberlain's negligence and ignorance, which indeed it was, but as a mark of the King's resentment of the purport of the City of London's address; and everybody who believed the thing in this manner condemned the King for giving those who meant to be impertinent to him the pleasure of seeing he understood them.

It is certain at this time the Court was very unpopular; that the King and Queen were as much personally hated as Sir Robert Walpole, and both spoken and wrote against with as much freedom. But they were not so sensible as he was of the situation they were in, particularly the King, who imagined those courtiers and flatterers that were perpetually incensing his altars in the palace, spoke the sentiments of all his subjects, though in reality they were as far from speaking the opinion of the nation as their own, and were no more the echoes of other people's words than they were the communicators of their own thoughts.

What I am going to say may sound paradoxical; but it is my firm opinion, though I know not how to account for it, that, although money and troops are generally esteemed the nerves and sinews of all the regal power, and that no king ever had so large a civil list or so large an army in time of peace as the present King, yet that the Crown was never less capable of infringing the liberties of this country than at this time, and that the spirit of liberty was so universally breathed into the breasts of the people, that, if

1734 any violent act of power had been attempted, at no era would it have been more difficult to perpetrate any undertaking of that kind. The King was often told, both in Parliament and in print, that his crown had been the gift of the people; that it was given on conditions; and that it behoved him to observe those conditions, as it would be both as easy and as lawful, in case he broke any of them, for the people to resume that gift, as it had been for them to bestow it.

The Prince, who always imagined himself the idol of the people, was to the full as unpopular as his parents. And though on this occasion of the Prince of Orange's wedding, he might plainly have seen that he was quite dropped, and that those who wished to get rid of his father never desired to exchange his father for him, yet nothing could open his eyes, the bandage of vanity bound them so close, and so determined he was to believe that every discontent centred in the King, the Queen, and Sir Robert Walpole, and that all the nation wished as much as he himself, that the time was come for him to ascend the throne.

Some mortification, however, he could not help feeling and showing in his countenance, when, upon going to the play once or twice with the Prince of Orange, the galleries when he came into the box only made a little clapping as usual with their hands, and the moment the Prince of Orange appeared the whole house rung with peals of shouts and huzzas.

The King himself began before the Prince of Orange went away to be very uneasy at distinctions of this kind that were paid him, and could not contentedly see, every opera-night from his own window, the coach of the Prince of Orange surrounded by crowds and ushered out of Court with incessant hallooing, whilst his own chair followed the moment after through empty and silent streets.

Nor were the States of Holland less jealous of the Prince of Orange's popularity in that country than the

King was concerned at it in this. But the jealousy of the ¹⁷³⁴ one, and the concern of the other, were not equally well founded, there being but little danger of the Prince of Orange's subverting the Government here and making himself King, whereas the inferior people in Holland were so strenuous in his cause, and the spirits of his party so raised by his new alliance, that his being one day or other Stadtholder there was an event whose probability made apprehension much more justifiable.

This being his present position both in England and Holland, the King grew in haste to be rid of him, whilst those who had the power there were unwilling to receive him. So unwilling they were, and so afraid of his presence causing an immediate insurrection of the populace in his favour, that it was privately intimated to him here from the chief people of that country, who then presided in the government of it, that they hoped he would not think of passing through Holland to Friesland, but go directly thither by sea.

Horace Walpole, who the year before was sent into Holland to treat of the affairs of Europe, under the pretence of going to fetch the Prince of Orange, now made the affairs of Europe a pretence for going to settle those of the Prince. But all he could obtain for the Prince was a permission to land with his bride at Rotterdam, and pass to Amsterdam with the utmost expedition and privacy, in order to re-embark there for Friesland. One thing more he obtained for the Princess Royal, which was, that, when she came to the Hague in her return to England, she was to have the offer of a guard on condition she would refuse it; and a further stipulation there was for the making the offer, which was, that the Prince of Orange should not be in the way when she received the military ambassador who brought it, because, in that case, this messenger would be obliged to distinguish between the husband and the wife, and assure the first he was not designed to have any share in this compliment paid to the last.

1734 The Prince of Orange was hereditary Stadtholder of Friesland, and Stadtholder by election of Gröningen and Gelderland.

Though the principal reason of Horace Walpole's expedition to Holland was the regulation of the Prince of Orange's reception there, yet he took occasion at the same time to feel anew the pulse of the Pensionary and great people there with regard to the present situation of Europe, and was extremely mortified to find them beat so calmly that there was no hope of raising that fever of war with which he wished so much to infect them. Besides the making his court to the King and Queen by endeavouring to bring the Dutch to more vigorous measures, he had a personal interest in it. For, as he felt himself ignorant of domestic affairs, and fancied himself perfectly master of foreign negotiations, as he found he made no figure in Parliament, or rather a ridiculous one, and that he flattered himself he shone brighter than any man in embassies and despatches, so he wished to turn the scene of business entirely on that side, and desired to do by England as he did by himself, which was to have it engaged to its discredit rather than lie idle, though in France it must be owned, by the interest he had in the Cardinal, he did England service. But how he got that interest in the Cardinal was very extraordinary. The two things in Mr. Walpole which his Eminence told Monsieur Chavigny gained most upon him were his blunt behaviour and his manner of living with his wife; the one, he said, gave him a good opinion of Mr. Walpole's sincerity, and the other of his morality. So that Horace had the good fortune to succeed abroad by the very two qualities which drew the most contempt and ridicule upon him at home, which were the coarseness of his manners and the depravity of his taste. For the wife to whom he showed all this goodness was a tailor's daughter, whom he had married for interest, with a form scarce human, as offensive to the nose and the ears as to the eye, and one to whom he was kind, not

from any principle of gratitude, but from the bestiality of 1734 his inclination.

Horace Walpole, with all his defects, was certainly a very good treaty-dictionary, to which his brother often referred for facts necessary for him to be informed of, and of which he was capable of making good use. But to hear Horace himself talk on these subjects unrestrained, and without being turned to any particular point, was listening to a rhapsody that was never coherent, and often totally unintelligible. This made his long and frequent speeches in Parliament uneasy to his own party, ridiculous to the other, and tiresome to both. He loved business, had great application, and was indefatigable, but, from having a most unclear head, no genius, no method, and a most loose inconclusive manner of reasoning, he was absolutely useless to his brother in every capacity but that which I have already mentioned of a dictionary. He was a very disagreeable man in company, noisy, overbearing, affecting to be always jocose, and thoroughly the *mauvais plaisant*; as unbred in his dialect as in his apparel, and as ill bred in his discourse as in his behaviour and gestures; with no more of the look than the habits of a gentleman. A free, easy, cheerful manner of conversing made some people mistake him enough to think him good-natured; but he was far from it, and did many ill offices to people, and never that I heard of any good ones. Nor did he, with all the credit he was known to have with his brother, ever make one friend. Sir Robert was really humane, did friendly things, and one might say of him, as Pliny said of Trajan, and as nobody could say of his brother or his master, "amicos habuit, quia amicus fuit": "He had friends, because he was a friend." Horace was envious, revengeful, inveterate, and implacable; but, from being afraid of his enemies, he had a behaviour towards them which many of them called good-humour, mistaking his timidity for serenity, and thinking, because he did not dare to strike, that he did not wish to wound.

1734 Whilst Horace was in Holland, the Parliament was dissolved. The job of the vote of confidence being over, and a bill to enable the King to settle £5,000 a year out of the Civil List revenues on the Princess Royal for her life being passed, the Court had no further occasion for the Parliament sitting, and everybody grew impatient to put an end to their expense and trouble by hastening to the new elections and getting them over.

After all the solicitude the Opposition had shown to pay compliments to the Prince of Orange by taking the lead in proposing a bill for his naturalization, they were weak and imprudent enough in the House of Commons to *April 8* oppose this bill for the Princess Royal, and to divide upon it. The Prince disliked it in his heart, but when some of those who opposed it in the House said they were against it because it looked like a distrust of her brother, Dodington, as first Minister to the Prince, got up and told the House he had authority from the Prince to give His Royal Highness's assent to this bill, and declare his approbation of it.

His Majesty's most gracious speech to both Houses of Parliament, on Tuesday the sixteenth day of April, 1734:

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—I give you my hearty thanks for the great despatch you have given to the public business, and for the confidence you have reposed in me for the honour and security of my kingdom. So short a session, at so critical and important a conjuncture, concluded with so much unanimity, and so just a regard for the true interest of the nation, will give great weight and credit to our public transactions, and procure that respect and dependance upon the great council of this nation, which are so necessary to support the honour and interest of Great Britain, both at home and abroad.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,—I must acknowledge in a particular manner the zeal and readiness which you have shown in raising, in so effectual a manner, the necessary supplies for the service of the year. The provision you have made for paying off great part of the debt of the navy, a debt necessarily and unavoidably incurred, and carrying a higher interest than the old national debt,

and which, being at a discount, increased the charge and expense in 1734 all contracts of the navy and victualling, must certainly be thought of singular service to the public.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—The time limited for the expiration of this Parliament drawing near, I have resolved forthwith to issue my proclamation for the dissolving of it, and for calling a new Parliament, that the inconveniences unavoidably attending a general election may be put an end to as soon as possible; but I should think myself inexcusable if I parted with this Parliament without doing them the justice to acknowledge the many signal proofs they have given, through the course of seven years, of their duty, fidelity, and attachment, to my person and government, and their constant regard to the true interest of their country.

The prosperity and glory of my reign depend upon the affection and happiness of my people, and the happiness of my people upon my preserving to them all their legal rights and privileges, as established under the present settlement of the crown in the Protestant line. A due execution and strict observance of the laws are the best and only security both to sovereign and subject; their interest is mutual and inseparable, and therefore their endeavours for the support of each other ought to be equal and reciprocal; any infringement or incroachment upon the rights of either is a diminution of the strength of both, which, kept within their due bounds and limits, make that just balance which is necessary for the honour and dignity of the crown, and for the protection and prosperity of the people. What depends upon me, shall, on my part, be religiously kept and observed, and I make no doubt of receiving the just returns of duty and gratitude from them.

I must in a particular manner recommend it to you, and from your known affection do expect, that you will use your best endeavours to heal the unhappy divisions of the nation, and to reconcile the minds of all who truly and sincerely wish the safety and welfare of the kingdom. It would be the greatest satisfaction to me to see a perfect harmony restored amongst them that have one and the same principle at heart, that there might be no distinction, but of such as mean the support of our present happy constitution in church and state, and such as wish to subvert both. This is the only distinction that ought to prevail in this country, where the interest of king and people is one and the same, and where they cannot subsist but by being so. If religion, liberty and property were never at any time more fully enjoyed, without not only any attempt, but even the shadow of a design, to alter or invade them, let not these sacred

1734 names be made use of as artful and plausible pretences to undermine the present establishment, under which alone they can be safe.

I have nothing to wish but that my people may not be misguided. I appeal to their own consciences for my conduct, and hope the providence of God will direct them in the choice of such representatives, as are most fit to be trusted with the care and preservation of the Protestant religion, the present establishment, and all the religious and civil rights of Great Britain.

April 16 The day after the Speech two proclamations came out, the one for the dissolution of this Parliament, and the other for calling a new one.

Upon the rising of the Parliament, Mr. Onslow, the Speaker of the House of Commons, was made Treasurer of the Navy, in the room of Lord Torrington. Lord Torrington was not disgraced, but was put into the Vice-Treasurership of Ireland, in the place of Lord Falmouth, who had talked and voted himself out of a better employment than he ever deserved, or would ever be able to talk or vote himself into again. His agreeable and respectable situation at present was being despised as insignificant by those he abandoned, and laughed at for a fool by those to whom he deserted.

April 17 Lord Stair, at the same time, had his regiment taken from him, the King saying he would never let a man keep anything by favour who had endeavoured to keep it by force, alluding to Lord Stair's having voted for the bill to make the officers' commissions for life. Lord Stair, as soon as he was broke, wrote a letter to the Queen, and gave it to Lord Grantham, her Lord Chamberlain, to deliver to her. Lord Grantham, who was for ever in doubt what he should do, and for ever at last determined to do what he should not, charged himself with this letter, and, without saying from whom he had it, carried it to the Queen. The Queen, opening it and looking immediately at the name, fell upon Lord Grantham for drawing her into this unpleasant scrape, and, without reading the letter, bid Lord Grantham carry it immediately to Sir Robert Walpole, and desire him

to show it the King; by which means she very dexterously ¹⁷³⁴ avoided the danger of concealing such a letter from the King, or giving Sir Robert Walpole any cause of jealousy from showing it. The letter set forth the deplorable state of this country, both from the power of France abroad and from Sir Robert Walpole's at home, and all the effect it had on the King was making him call Lord Stair a puppy for writing it, and Lord Grantham a fool for bringing it.

In a few days after the Parliament was up the Princess ^{April 2.} Royal and Prince of Orange embarked at Greenwich for Holland. Never was there a more melancholy parting than between Her Royal Highness and all her family, except her brother, who took no leave of her at all, and desired the Prince of Orange to let her know his reason for omitting it was the fear of touching her too much. Her father gave her a thousand kisses and a shower of tears, but not one guinea.

Her mother never ceased crying for three days. But after three weeks (excepting post-days) Her Royal Highness seemed as much forgotten as if she had been buried three years. So quick a smoother is absence of the deepest impressions royal minds are capable of receiving. Impressions that are only to be preserved by an effort of memory and reflection are indeed, in all human compositions, like characters written in sand, that, if they are not perpetually retained by our senses, they are seldom of any great duration, and are easily effaced, though ever so strongly marked.

Whilst the Princess lay wind-bound at Gravesend Lord Hervey went, by her desire, to make her a visit: and here it was, by being closeted two or three hours with the Prince of Orange, Lord Hervey found his bride had already made him so well acquainted with this Court, that there was nobody belonging to it whose character, even to the most minute particulars, was not as well known to him as their face. The Prince of Orange had a good deal of drollery, and, whilst Lord Hervey was delivering the

1734 compliments of St. James's to him, he asked him, smiling, what message he had brought from the Prince. Lord Hervey said his departure was so sudden that he had not seen the Prince. "If you had" (replied the Prince of Orange), "it would have been all one, since he was not more likely to send his sister a message than he was to make your Lordship his ambassador." Lord Hervey was a good deal surprised to hear the Prince of Orange speak so freely on this subject, and did not think it very discreet in him; but he was still more surprised when His Highness proceeded to open himself so much on the Prince of Wales's character as made it not hard to discover that his affection to the Prince's person, his opinion of his understanding, his dependence on his truth, and his esteem for his integrity, were all much at the same pitch. He told Lord Hervey what the Prince had said about taking leave of his sister, at which they both smiled. He then acquainted Lord Hervey how often the Prince had entertained him with the recital of his Lordship's ingratitude, a subject on which Lord Hervey begged His Highness to spare him, since it must be extremely disagreeable to anybody to listen to one's own accusation when they were determined never to enter into their defence. The Prince of Orange, however, went on, and talked of Miss Vane, and bade Lord Hervey not be too proud of that boy, since he had heard from very good authority it was the child of a triumvirate, and that the Prince and Lord Harrington had full as good a title to it as himself. Lord Hervey told the Prince of Orange that his speaking to him in this strain was not only the most effectual, but the most disagreeable method he could take to impose silence upon him, and begged they might either change the topic of their conversation or go to the company below stairs. The Prince of Orange, seeing him really uneasy and embarrassed, began to talk of the affairs of Europe, and showed he was as well informed of the interests of all foreign Courts as he was of the anecdotes of this.

When Lord Hervey took his leave of the Princess ¹⁷³⁴ Royal, she bid him be sure to do his utmost to prevent a peace being made, and to keep her mamma warm. Her reason was, because, the war continuing, the Prince of Orange was to go a tour this campaign to the Imperial Army, and she in that case would return during his absence to England. Besides this, if the war continued, she thought Holland would be brought into it; and if Holland was brought into it, a Stadtholder would be more likely to be made. So that her pleasure in present, and her ambition in future, were both concerned in her solicitude for no end to be put to the murder, rapine, distress, and calamity, that at present raged in Europe. And when one reflects on the influence the counsels of England had at this time on the fate of Europe, the influence the Queen had on those counsels, and the influence her daughter then had upon her, when, by this chain of causes, one considers what might turn the scale, and decide upon the lives and deaths of thousands, the destruction or preservation of many cities, the tranquillity or distress of whole nations, and the prosperity or adversity of half Europe, what respect it must give one for the hands of the few who regulate these great events, and with what confidence, resignation, content, and security must subjects commit the welfare of kingdoms to the justice and judgment of those mortal deities, their Princes, when they see and know them actuated by such motives, and determined by such reasons!

The day the Princess set sail from Gravesend the King and Queen retired to Richmond, where they waited the account of every election under as much anxiety as if their Crown had been at stake. The complexion of the new Parliament was, indeed, of great moment to them; for never was an opposing party more exasperated against a Court, or a stiffer struggle made to distress it.

Notwithstanding the severe Act passed in the year 1729 to prevent bribery and corruption in elections, yet

1734 money, though it had been formerly more openly given, was never more plentifully issued than in these. Every election that went against the Court the King imputed to the fault of those who lost it, and much too frequently, and too publicly, accused the Whigs of negligence; saying, at the same time, that if the Tories had had a quarter of the support from the Government that the Whigs had received from it for twenty years together, they would never have suffered the Crown to be pushed and the Court to be distressed in the manner it now was; and generally added to these declarations, that he could not help saying, for the honour of the Tories, that they were always much firmer united, and much more industrious and circumspect, than the Whigs.

That the King often dropped things of this kind was no secret to either party, and as it piqued the one it animated the other; hurting the cause of those he espoused, and promoting the interest of those he wished to depress.

“This,” said the Queen, in speaking on this subject to Lord Hervey, “is always the way of your nasty Whigs: though they themselves are supported by the Crown, they are always lukewarm in returning that support to the Crown. They think everything must be done for them and that they are obliged to do nothing themselves in return. Out of place, they are always ready to fall upon the Crown and think in place they have merit enough if they do not join in distressing it, and only stand by and see others tear one in pieces. You other fine Roman and English spirits are so very grateful generally to your Prince, that you grudge him even the power of doing you good, though he employs it only that way, and has no enemies, but such as are so because he employs you and lets you engross all his favour.”

“This is a very heavy charge upon the Whigs,” said Lord Hervey, “and what, if I thought they deserved, I assure Your Majesty I should be as ready to condemn them [for] as you could be. But give me leave to say,

Madam, what I sincerely think, and that is, that if ever ¹⁷³⁴ any party had merit to a royal family I think they have merit to Your Majesty's. What risks did the Whigs not run, what did they not lose, what fortitude and perseverance did they not show, for your interest and the succession in the House of Hanover during the latter end of Queen Anne's reign? Since the accession of your family in the time of the rebellion, in the time of the Bishop of Rochester's plot, and on many more occasions which do not at this moment occur to my memory, but which I could easily recollect, did not the Whigs exert themselves with the utmost zeal and industry? Have they not pushed prerogative points, maintained the power and honour of the Crown so strenuously and so far, whenever they have thought the interest and security of Your Majesty's family concerned, that they have often been reproached with having not only adopted Tory principles which they used to explode, but even carried those principles higher than ever Tories did? The whole kingdom knows what I say to be true, and if Your Majesty thinks the Tories either would or could do more than the Whigs have done to support you, all I can say is, to repeat what my Lord Sunderland answered to King William when His Majesty told him he would take the Tories in because their principles were more proper to support a King than those of the Whigs. My Lord Sunderland answered: 'That is very true, Sir, but you are not their King.' "

This discourse passed between my Lord Hervey and the Queen one morning in her closet at Richmond whilst she was at breakfast. During the conversation the King came in, and the Queen telling him what she had been talking of, the whole came over again, the King repeating almost word for word what the Queen had urged before, and Lord Hervey giving much the same answers though in softer terms and a lower voice than he had spoke before, being more in awe of his present disputant than he was of the former.

1734 Sir Robert Walpole was now in Norfolk, pushing the county election there, which the Whigs lost by six or seven voices, to the great triumph of the Opposition. After the election was over he stayed some time at Houghton, solacing himself with his mistress, Miss Skerrit, whilst his enemies were working against him at Richmond, and persuading the King and Queen that the majority of the new Parliament would infallibly be chosen against the Court.

Lord Hervey, who was every day and all day at Richmond, saw this working, and found Their Majesties staggering. Upon which he wrote an anonymous letter to Sir Robert Walpole with only these few words in it, quoted out of a play:

Whilst in her arms at Capua he lay,
The world fell mouldering from his hand each hour.

Sir Robert knew the hand, understood the meaning, and, upon the receipt of this letter, came immediately to Richmond. Lord Hervey, upon his return, told him what he had heard; but that the King and Queen both talking in the same strain with regard to the neglect and remissness of the Whigs, and the firmness and industry of the Tories, he could not tell from which of them these notions had been communicated to the other, or who had infused them originally in either. He said, if they came from the King, he guessed my Lord President for their source; if from the Queen, that the Bishops Hare and Sherlock had propagated them; and he was more inclined to think they came this way for two reasons: in the first place, because the King was more likely to receive impressions from the Queen than to make them, and in the next, because he knew what Sherlock said had more weight with her than anything that came from any mouth but Sir Robert's had with the King. Sir Robert said he did not believe it was Sherlock. Lord Hervey told him both Hare and Sherlock had been with her; that Sherlock was a great favourite,

hated the Bishop of London, and knew Sir Robert's ¹⁷³⁴ partiality to him; had himself an eye to Lambeth, and was sensible he had no chance to go there in case of a vacancy if Sir Robert's power could send the other. Sir Robert Walpole, however, persisted in saying he did not think these arrows came out of Sherlock's quiver, and that he could guess the hand that threw them. However, he did not tell whom he suspected, and I believe was in doubt, though he pretended he was not. But he told Lord Hervey that this was ever his fate, and that he never could turn his back for three days that somebody or other did not give it a slap of this kind. And how, indeed, could it ever be otherwise? For, as he was unwilling to employ anybody under him, or let anybody approach the King and Queen who had any understanding, lest they should employ it against him, so, from fear of having dangerous friends, he never had any useful ones, every one of his subalterns being as incapable of defending him as they were of attacking him, and no better able to support than to undermine him.

Many who lost their elections, and particularly the Duke of Dorset (whose eldest son was thrown out in Kent), imputed every miscarriage of the Court candidates to the excise scheme. But as soon as Sir Robert came back he set everything right, resumed his power, and effaced every impression that had been made either in the mind of the King or Queen to his disadvantage, or in distrust of the new Parliament.

The Court list in the election of the Scotch Peers, notwithstanding the efforts made to subvert the Court interest, was carried by the industry and dexterity of Lord Ilay by a very great majority. The minority protested against the illegality of the election. The substance of the protest was, that the Minister had sent an agent down with money to corrupt the electors; that the sixteen who were returned were chosen entirely by that undue influence, and consequently had no right to sit.

1734 Lord Ilay was the man on whom Sir Robert Walpole depended entirely for the management of all Scotch affairs; a man of parts, quickness, knowledge, temper, dexterity, and judgment; a man of little truth, little honour, little principle, and no attachment but to his interest. A pedantic, dirty, shrewd, unbred fellow of a college, with a mean aspect, bred to the sophistry of the civil law, and made a peer, would have been just such a man. His great maxim on which he regulated his whole political conduct with regard to persons was so to love that he might hate, and so to hate that he might love; that is, never so far to confide as not to dare to break, nor ever so far to outrage as to make it impossible to be reconciled. With all his Parliamentary skill and accomplishments, his ungraceful manner of speaking, his prolixity, his disagreeable voice and bad elocution, made all he said lose its force; and what everybody would have owned a good dissertation if they had read it, was never an affecting speech when they heard it. It was not animated enough to persuade, nor attended to enough to convince. Sir Robert Walpole, with all the influence he had upon the Queen's opinions of things and inclination to persons, could never make her love Lord Ilay, and though she generally measured her favours if not her affection to people according to the public use they were of to the King's affairs, yet Lord Ilay's services, great as they were, could never wash out the stains of his former misdemeanours. The Queen had habituated herself to hating him on his having formerly, for a long while together, made his court to Lady Suffolk. Lady Suffolk now hated him as much for having neglected her in order to gain the Queen, which he could never effect. So that his unfortunate situation with both was being disliked as much by the one for what he was as by the other for what he had been; the one quite forgetting how much she had once been obliged, and the other always remembering how much she had been disengaged.

The Duke of Argyll was in still a worse situation in her

affections than his brother, and for the same reason. For, 1734 Sir Robert Walpole not loving His Grace, and wishing to increase the Queen's dislike to him rather than to remove it, it continued without the least abatement; whilst Sir Robert, by perpetually working in Lord Ilay's favour, had a little softened her resentment towards him, though he could never quite eradicate it. Lord Ilay's behaviour, and the service he did the King in those last Scotch elections, set forth in all its lustre, made the Queen more willing to allow his merit than she had ever been on any other occasion.

The behaviour of these two brothers to one another was the most extraordinary correspondence ever heard of. They had had a private and personal quarrel ten years ago, and from that time to this had been so exasperated against each other, that they had not exchanged one word, yet were always in the same interest and perpetually convened to the same political meetings, and by the means of a Mr. Stuart, who went between them, a Scotch gentleman, an adroit fellow and a common friend to them both, they acted as much in concert as if they had been the most intimate and most cordial friends.

The Duke of Argyll was of great consequence in Scotland, and the interest of the Campbell family kept these two brothers united. His Grace commanded a great many followers in the House of Commons, and, by being often hungry and often fed, was often in and often out of humour with the Administration. He was haughty, passionate, and peremptory; gallant, and a good officer; with very good parts, and much more reading and knowledge than generally falls to the share of a man educated a soldier and born to so great a title and fortune.

The tumult of the elections being now over, and the King, Queen, and Ministers pretty well satisfied with the complexion of the new-born Parliament, the Court removed for its summer residence to Kensington, and all the conversation of it was turned from domestic to

1734 foreign affairs had it not been for an incident I am now going to relate.

One day¹ very abruptly and nobody guessing on what motive, the Prince of Wales sent Lord Carnarvon, his Lord of the Bedchamber in Waiting to the King, to ask an audience and desire to know what time His Majesty would be pleased to allow it him.

The King's answer to his son was that he might come when he would, but, being now near three o'clock, His Majesty went up as usual to the drawing-room and made it impossible for the Prince to see him before the morrow. The news of this audience being asked soon spread, and everyone was conjecturing in what it was likely to terminate. Most people imagined it was to ask the King's leave to go a volunteer to Prince Eugene upon the Rhine. At night the Ministers met to talk of this comet and if they could to ward against the conflagration they expected from it.

Sir Robert Walpole went to the King and Queen and said all he begged of His Majesty was that, if this should prove any extravagant step proposed to his son by the people in opposition, His Majesty would only promise to keep his temper, and not give the advantage which the strongest always give to the weakest when they lose it. The King promised and the next day the Prince after the levee went into the closet.

The substance of what he said was to desire the King would marry him. He then touched slightly on the reserve and sometimes displeasure he had observed and lamented in the King's behaviour towards him and begged to know the cause of it; assuring His Majesty that he had never wilfully done anything to forfeit his favour and would do anything in his power to regain and merit it.

The King told him that his behaviour in general was very childish and silly, but that his particular disregard to his mother and his undutiful conduct towards her was

¹About the end of June.

what offended him more than anything else, and that till 1734 he behaved better there he would never find it possible to please him.

As to marrying him he said everybody knew that matches had been proposed, and that it was not his fault these had not taken effect.

Little more passed between them, and the Prince at taking leave said: "I hope Your Majesty will remember I made this application to you."

The Prince would have gone immediately from the King's closet to his mother, which she avoided by going into the drawing-room earlier this morning than ordinary, resolving not to see her son, till she had seen the King.

Out of the drawing-room she followed the King so close that though the Prince led her he could say little to her, and to that little he received not one word of answer.

It was quickly known or at least conjectured that Lord Chesterfield had put the Prince upon taking this step, the Prince having rode out with only one groom two mornings before, met Lord Chesterfield in Holland House Walk and there, quitting his horse, walked with him for above two hours.

Everybody saw very plain that this business was not to end in this application to the King, and that it was preparatory to something of the same nature to be moved in Parliament, which was a measure that would wear the face of much greater decency after this previous address to the King, and appear more necessary from this having proved ineffectual.

When the Prince saw the Queen next day, she told him she was very sorry to find that she had been the cause of any coolness between him and his father; that she was sure she had never endeavoured to irritate the King by any complaints, but on the contrary, as she wished nothing so much as their being well together, so she had always sunk circumstances the King had not seen, softened those he had, and taken the Prince's part often against her opinion.

1734 "But what concerns me most," said she, "my dear Fretz,¹ is to see you can be so weak as to listen to people who are trying to make a fool of you, who think of nothing but distressing the King at any rate, and would sacrifice not only your interest, but the interest of our whole family, to pursue what they think their own, or to gratify their personal resentment."

She talked so much to the Prince in this strain, telling him how little those in whom he confided cared for him or considered anything but their present passion; how warily he ought to act; how little he could ever get by exasperating his father; and how unavailing all methods but fair means ever must prove with such a temper as the King's, and power to support it. In short she awakened so much distrust in the Prince on the one hand and alarmed his timidity so strongly on the other, that she made him promise to write a submissive letter to the King, told him she would deliver it and do everything she could to set matters right.

Accordingly a letter was written and brought to her to correct. Wherever she thought the submissions too slight, or his compunction not sufficiently explicit, she strengthened the terms till the whole letter was moulded to her own mind. She then delivered it to the King, who commissioned her to give no other answer to his son than that he should judge of the sincerity of his words by the future tenor of his actions.

I shall now recount the different opinions there were on these facts.

When the Queen and Sir Robert Walpole related them severally to me, they were both of opinion that Lord Chesterfield had drawn this scheme originally to create business in the House of Lords upon a point wherein many people would hesitate in standing by the King who would have no scruples upon any other.

¹Always spelt thus by Lord Hervey; and as he is the sole authority on the point, his spelling has been retained.

As to the letter of recantation, they judged that to have ¹⁷³⁴ been advised and written by Mr. Dodington, jealous of Lord Chesterfield's growing interest with the Prince and his having had influence enough there to persuade the Prince to ask this audience of the King without Dodington's being either consulted upon it, or acquainted with it. They both told me too that Lord Chesterfield had certainly declared upon the Prince's writing the letter that His Royal Highness was such an unstable creature that there was no trusting him out of one's sight an hour; that Mr. Dodington had told the Prince there never was anything so injudicious as striking this stroke so long before the Parliamentary blow could follow, and that all the Prince could now do towards retrieving this false step was to load the King with submissions and seem to have laid aside all thoughts of prosecuting this design.

When the Queen told Lord Hervey all this, he owned it was seemingly a natural way of accounting for everything that had happened, but that he did not believe it was the true one. In the first place he doubted much of Lord Chesterfield's having said what was reported of the Prince's levity. In the next place he was very sure Mr. Dodington's credit with the Prince was declining. "And Madam, besides this," said Lord Hervey, "according to Your Majesty's own report of this letter, I see nothing in it that Lord Chesterfield may not have consented to and approved. Why may not he imagine that submission on the side of the Prince upon this occasion will contribute to throw blame upon a refusal on the part of the King? Neither does anything Your Majesty has repeated out of this letter retract in any degree the main purport of the audience, which was a desire of being married. The letter only asks pardon for the manner of making that application, in case it was unfitting, or gave any offence to the King. Contrition and penitence are largely poured out upon that head, but they are confined there, and no fault confessed, nor any receding mentioned with regard to the

1734 principal cause of the audience being asked. All these things considered, I should imagine Lord Chesterfield (who might upon reflection think he had rung the alarum-bell too soon) much more likely to have been the author of this letter than Mr. Dodington, especially since the Prince, let him be ever so fluctuating in his measures or changeable in his counsellors, could never in all probability alter so much in both and in so short a time as to commit the whole conduct of this very delicate transaction to the hand of one for whom the day before he had not shown so much regard as even to trust him with any such affair being on the anvil."

The Queen, who had no great natural propensity to changing an opinion, persisted in believing Dodington the author of the letter and said she did not think the Prince had ever seen Lord Chesterfield between the audience and the recantation as she still called it, though very improperly. Lord Hervey said the Prince possibly had wrote the letter himself. "Oh my good Lord," replied the Queen, "no more than I wrote it. The style of it, the manner in which he had copied it, the tone in which he read it, though he said it was every word his own, and done in haste, plainly showed that it was no more his drawing than drawn without the utmost care and caution."

"How anybody could work him up to such a step," Lord Hervey said, "to me is inconceivable. I am sure when I had the honour of being of his council he used to think very differently; and as I have often told him how little was to be got in present by quarrelling with the King, and how much he would risk in futurity, if ever by intestine divisions he weakened the strength and interest of his family in general, and the advantage he would give by such conduct to those who struck at the whole, he always seemed to feel the force of that reasoning and to be determined never to push things to so dangerous an extremity." Lord Hervey, knowing by Sir Robert Walpole that the Prince had told the Queen that Lord Hervey had often

urged him to resent the usage of his father, took this ¹⁷³⁴ opportunity to clear himself of that very false charge, and proceeded in this manner.

"I used, Madam, whenever His Royal Highness talked in a high strain of resentment always to tell him: 'Sir, I can remember when your father had the misfortune to quarrel with your grandfather, and notwithstanding he had many people of the first rank, quality, understanding, character, and consideration of this kingdom in his party; notwithstanding one of his own servants was in the chair of the House of Commons; and notwithstanding he had a revenue of £120,000 a year independent of the King, I can remember in a very little time how poor a figure his opposition to the Court made, how weary both he and his adherents were of it, what advantage it was to the enemies of this family, and how little it availed him in any one article. And if your father, Sir, in these circumstances grew weary of this quarrel, think what your case would be without these circumstances and with only £10,000 a year instead of £120,000. I make no doubt but that at first Your Royal Highness would find people enough that would lend you money. But in a short time you would find the same people at least as ready to press the payment as they were to make the loan, and your friends, when they had been long your creditors, full as troublesome as your foes. Your Court would be filled with nothing else, for Courts that want support are not thronged like those who can give it, nor is the friendship of Princes much courted when, instead of promoting the interest of those who possess it, it gives umbrage where power threatens and interest calls. But supposing what Your Royal Highness in your most sanguine views can expect should happen; supposing your party should be strong enough to distress the King's measures, and make him bend. What would the consequence of that be? The King would not reconcile himself to you upon condition you would drop your friends, for that (the party still subsisting in opposition,

1734 and his distress proceeding from their numbers and force) would do the King no good. In this case therefore his policy must be to buy them to desert you, who by this means would first be their tool and then their sacrifice.' " "When you talked to him in this manner," said the Queen, "how did he used to take it?" "He always, Madam, used to say I was in the right, to seem to feel the force of such arguments, and to thank me for setting things in their true light before him. Nor did I ever fail to add that, as my situation was such that it was apparently my personal interest, considering his friendship to me and my dependence on the King, that no rupture should happen between them, so it was possible he might think I was either blind to his interest or partial to my own when I reasoned in this manner; therefore I begged him to consider facts and natural consequences only, and put all prejudices, both mine and his own, quite out of the question." This was a natural and lucky opportunity for Lord Hervey to give the lie, without seeming to know he did so, to several stories, with a thousand particulars, told of him by the Prince to the Queen, most of which tended to persuade the Queen that whilst Lord Hervey had the Prince's ear he was for ever blowing up his resentment, reproaching him for bearing the usage both of his father and his mother, and urging him to let his wrath éclat.

Whether the letter of recantation (very unreasonably so christened) was written by Mr. Dodington or Lord Chesterfield time may perhaps discover; but as I am now writing in the interval between this incident and the meeting of Parliament this truth is as yet dormant; perhaps I may never be able to say who was the author of it, and whether the Queen or Lord Hervey were right in their conjecture, the presumptive evidence of collateral circumstances will only determine; and whether the Prince meant to dupe his father and his ministers at this time by seeming to recede when he did not intend it, or whether he was frightened and intended to sacrifice his own

advisers, I am equally as yet at a loss to guess. Perhaps he ¹⁷³⁴ may be as uncertain which he designs to do as I am, for, as irresolution and falsehood are equally predominant in his composition, it is very probable he may as yet be only determined to deceive somebody, but deliberating whom.

During all this transaction of the audience and the letter, the Princess Emily made her court to her brother by playing the mediative between him and the Queen. As she saw no prospect of being married and reflected that her father was thirty years older than her, she thought it behoved her to keep well with the Prince, upon whom by the course of nature she was to expect she should one day or other find herself dependent. For the Princess Royal (who was come back from Holland), her brother and she were upon worse terms than ever. He was angry at her marrying, but upon her presuming to be with child he was quite outrageous, and though she did not often talk of her brother at this time to the Queen (at least in my hearing), when she did, she cut deep. The Princess Caroline held a sort of silent neutrality, but Lord Hervey was too much distinguished by her, and too well with her, for her to be well with her brother, and her brother was too much the reverse of all the good qualities she possessed for him to be either or loved or liked by one of her worth or discernment.

When Lord Hervey spoke on the Prince's chapter to the Queen (which he never did but when she forced him upon it), he always endeavoured to throw in something or other to prevent his seeming to aim at doing him any ill offices to Her Majesty. Amongst other things at this time he said it always had been his opinion and still was so that the Prince loved Her Majesty in his heart, however he might be persuaded by those about him to hold a conduct as if he did not. "I believe," said the Queen, "he has no inveterate hatred to me, but for love I cannot say I see any great signs of it, though I must own he has really a good heart; and I asked him the other day how he could

1734 suffer himself to be persuaded by people who have neither honour, conscience, common honesty, or common good-nature, to act sometimes as if he wanted all those qualities as much as they do." At the time she said this she thought no better of his heart than my Lord Chesterfield ever spoke of hers, and not above two days before she had, in the anguish of her soul, said weeping to Sir Robert Walpole (as he afterward told me), "My good Sir Robert, I every day more and more think of poor M. Neibourg, my son's old Governor. When he took his leave of me four years ago at Windsor, he said: 'Madam, I shall never see you again; but I could not die in peace if I did not discharge my conscience in telling you what I have long seen in the Prince and long endeavoured in vain to correct. He has the most vicious nature and the most false heart that ever man had, nor are his vices the vices of a gentleman, but the mean base tricks of a knavish footman. I do not say this to Your Majesty out of any malice, or with any fear of the Prince being told it again, for I have often said it to him himself and should be glad to say it to him in Your Majesty's presence, that I might if possible make him ashamed to persist in faults and go on in habits which I have tried every other method in vain to cure him of.'"

When I relate things which are said by other people, I always do it as near as I can in the very words they were delivered to me, and have done so on this occasion.

What M. Neibourg said of the Prince puts one a little in mind of what Suetonius says of Tiberius and his Governor. "Saeva ac lenta natura ne in puero quidem latuit; quam Theodorus Gadareus rhetoricae praceptor et perspexisse primus sagaciter, et assimilasse aptissime visus est: subinde in objurgando appellans eum *πηλὸν αἴματι πεφυρμένον*." "His cruel and abominable temper appeared in him when he was a boy, which Theodorus of Gadana perceived and very appositely expressed by calling him often, in chiding him, dirt mixed with blood." Though to do the Prince justice, as much as I have seen

in him of the dirt I cannot say that I ever discovered any- 1734
thing of the blood.

As to Lord Hervey's always speaking of the Prince to the Queen with that seeming partiality, though it may appear extraordinary he should do so, yet upon the examination of his motives it may easily be accounted for. It was from no tenderness towards the Prince, nor any simple affectation of false generosity, but merely from prudence and regard to himself. He knew in family quarrels how natural it was for a suspended affection to revive and how much oftener a mutual interest in the parties had produced a reconciliation between those who had been judged irreconcileable; and in these cases he did not want to be told that the fomentors of the quarrel on either side whilst it subsisted never failed of being the first sacrifices whenever it was made up. Besides, as there are some tempers whose resentment is more irritated by attempts to excuse than by endeavours to aggravate, it is very possible his Lordship *excusando exprobrare*, and when he seemed to aim at extenuating the Prince's conduct might not mean to soften the Queen's dislike of it, and knew her too well to imagine it would have that effect. He might be apprised too, it may be, that people frequently rail at those whose part they begin to take the moment they hear them railed at, and therefore chose rather this way to fan the fire he found, than to be catched endeavouring to throw on more fuel, which perhaps like wet wood might have damped the flame it was designed to increase.

Lord Hervey had been too ill used by the Prince to owe him any good turn, or to desire to do him one; and, as he knew him too well to have either love or esteem for him, so whatever his style might be when he spoke of the Prince, it was not feeling any regard to him that made him express himself in so soft a manner. What regard indeed could anybody have for a man who like His Royal Highness had no truth in his words, no justice in his inclination, no integrity in his commerce, no sincerity in his professions,

1734 no stability in his attachments, no sense in his conversation, no dignity in his behaviour, and no judgment in his conduct?

I have often thought there was a great similitude in many particulars (cruelty excepted) between the characters of Nero and the Prince of Wales. Nero at the beginning of his reign was as much admired and loved as the Prince of Wales at his first arrival in England, and both of them soon after were as much hated and despised. Both of them, too, proved these different fortunes from the same causes, which were from not being known at first and from being thoroughly known at last. "Petulantiam, libidinem, luxuriam, avaritiam, sensim quidem primo et occulte, velut juvenili errore, exercuit; sed naturae illa vitia non aetatis fuerunt." Suetonius, *Morta Neronis*, c. 26. Each of them were once so fond of their mothers that they were in everything absolutely governed by them; and both of them grew afterward to hate those mothers as violently as they had once loved them. Both, too, when they hated them most caressed them most, from those two predominant ingredients in the amiable and great compositions of these Princes, hypocrisy and fear. "Factus natura et consuetudine exercitus velare odium fallacibus blanditiis." Tacitus, *Annal.* lib. 14.

Both of them were extremely lewd and both extremely inconstant. Both of them as false to their mistresses as their friends, and no more capable of attachment by constitution to the one than they were of fidelity by principle to the other. They both loved feasts, fine clothes, expense, shows, masques, revelling, and drinking, and they loved too in drunken company to scour the streets, beat the watch and molest everybody they met; and if Nero ("eiusmodi rixis oculorum et vitae periculum adiit." Suet.) in these scuffles often run the risk of losing his eyes and his life, the Prince in an exploit of this kind as narrowly escaped being shot from the Duchess of Buckingham's house in the park whilst he and his company

were taking the diversion of breaking her windows. But, 1734 as Tacitus observes on the like occasions, "Nero autem metuentior in posterum," "Nero after this grew more fearful," so this adventure of Buckingham House made so great a noise that for the future His Royal Highness too was more cautious in his rambles. The Duchess of Buckingham put an advertisement into the *Daily Gazette* to assure those who offered any insults of this kind for the future to her or her house that they should be received suitably to their practice and not to their rank. My Lord and Lady Berkshire, whose windows the Prince and his company broke the same night, made great complaint of this outrage and forbore coming to Court till an excuse was made to them for what had been done.

Both Nero and the Prince of Wales piqued themselves not only (like Princes) upon being patrons of arts and literature, but upon being great proficients in letters themselves both in verse and prose. "Ad poeticam pronus, carmina libenter ac sine labore composuit." Suetonius. Each of them too making most miserable compositions in both kinds of their own and without shame or hesitation fathering very good ones produced by other people, for Seneca and Petronius did not compose more speeches and poems for the one than Mr. Hedges and Lord Hervey did ballads and songs for the other. I know with regard to this particular it may be objected to me that Suetonius speaking of Nero's poetry says, "Nec, ut quidam putant, aliena pro suis edidit"; but in this I chose rather to follow the authority of Tacitus and Dion Cassius, who both of them with more probability relate otherwise.

If Nero was violent in taking this or that party in the theatre or the Circensian Games, the Prince of Wales was not less so in those of the operas or composers. Nero was not more vehement in the cause of the Greens and Blues, than the Prince of Wales against Handel and Carestini, for Porpora and Farinelli. Nor was Nero fonder of his harp than the Prince of his violoncello; and if the

1734 Prince only sung, played, and acted in private, whilst the other performed all these parts in public, it was owing, I dare say, to no other cause than the one being subject to control and the other above it; otherwise the same inclination with the same power would have taken the same steps. Good sense or shame would have restrained the one no more than it did the other, and had the English Prince, like the Roman Emperor, had nothing to fear but ridicule, he would have incurred it like the other, and have played the same absurd part in London that Nero did in Rome, Naples, and Athens. Nor would anybody say this was either an invidious or unnatural suspicion who had ever, like me, seen this Prince once or twice a week during this whole summer at Kensington seated at an open window of his apartment with his violoncello between his legs, singing French and Italian songs to his own playing for an hour or two together, whilst his audience was composed of all the underling servants and rabble of the Palace. What made this scene more remarkable was that His Royal Highness never began this performance till nine or ten o'clock at night, which, by the multitude of lights he had in the room where he played, made this royal object of theatrical attention still more conspicuous than he could have been at noon-day; and the window of his apartment where this entertainment was exhibited looking into one of the back courts of the palace, there was a sort of gradation of spectators, like that of the plebeians, knights, and patricians, in the Roman theatres, the colonnades below being filled with all the footmen, scullions, postilions, and lower order of domestics, whilst the first floor windows were thronged with chambermaids and *valets de chambre*, and all the garrets loaded with laundry-maids and their gallants.

But, to return to the parallel between these two characters of Nero and the Prince of Wales, they were both profuse and both avaricious. There was no species of extravagance of which they were not capable to dissipate

money, nor any species of lowness or injustice of which ¹⁷³⁴ they were not capable to acquire it. Thus were both of them hard and false, fickle and ungrateful; both of them proud and mean, insolent and timorous; both of them contemptible in grandeur and unpitied in misfortune; both of them knaves and both of them liars; and the only difference I knew between them was that Nero had infinitely more power, a good deal more cruelty, and a little more sense. I have said nothing of Nero but what I could justify by quotations from Tacitus and Suetonius, and would have justified in that way had I not thought it would have been too tedious a manner of authenticating what is so well known.

It is possible I may be thought to have drawn this parallel from prejudice or malice, and by the first I may perhaps have been influenced without knowing it; but for the last, if I felt that passion and sought to gratify it, how doubly simple and injudicious I must be to put a curb upon my lips whilst I am living, and could, it may be, hurt the Prince by speaking, and give a loose to my pen to record these things which, let them be ever so bitterly reported or ever so universally believed, can never, from the date of their appearance, either pleasure me or mortify him.

Besides, if the notoriety of the Prince's qualities and conduct will not justify this character, these writings can never make such reflections current; and if the parallel shall hereafter be found just, why should it be deemed to be drawn by the enmity of an inveterate foe rather than by the truth of a faithful historian?

One circumstance that happened about this time will in part contribute to justify the likeness of this picture and therefore I will relate it.

When the Prince bought his house¹ in Pall Mall of Lord Chesterfield, which cost £6,000, not having money to pay for it he borrowed this sum of his Treasurer, Mr.

¹Carlton House.

1734 Hedges, and obliged himself to repay it at a particular time that expired just as he was grown weary of Mr. Dodington's administration and before Dodington had discovered that he was so. Taking therefore advantage of the favour which he still showed and no longer felt towards Mr. Dodington, he borrowed this £6,000 of him to pay Mr. Hedges, and then, with as little judgment as shame or honesty, bragged to Hedges of having over-reached Dodington, and said: "With all his parts I have wheedled him out of a sum of money for the payment of which he has no security if I die, and which, God knows, he may wait long enough for if I live."

This Mr. Hedges, who was really a man of honour as well as a man of sense, told again to Sir Robert Walpole with the utmost indignation and Sir Robert told it to me, saying at the same time, "You see into what honest and just hands the care and government of this country is like one day to be committed."

I cannot deny but this reflection of Sir Robert Walpole's would administer a most melancholy prospect to England if one had not the consolation of hoping that the impotence of His Royal Highness's understanding would prove an antidote to the iniquity of his disposition. A hope I can more easily indulge, as it has always been my opinion that a very able man would be a much more dangerous King in this country than any very weak one, let his disposition be ever so bad. Nor do I advance this as many authors advance many things for the sake of a paradox and making their readers stare; but I say it, because I think it not only true in speculation and theory, but apparent in practice and example from the dynasties of our former Kings. Richard II., Edward II., Henry VI., Charles I., and James II. ruined themselves. Henry IV., V., and VII. and Queen Elizabeth, all wise Princes, enslaved their people and preserved themselves. And the reason of this is plain, for as all mankind love dominion and aim at power, those who have the best understandings

will always find the safest and most effectual means to 1734 obtain it. Where the government therefore is free, an able Prince is a much more dangerous ruler than a weak one, as he will always have the same inclination to infringe the liberties of his subjects and be more capable of gratifying it.

In an absolute government I grant it better for the people to be ruled by a wise King than a weak one, because there, the King having no additional power to aim at, the interest of his people is inseparable from his own, and the richer, the stronger, the happier, and the more prosperous his subjects are, the greater and more powerful that Prince himself becomes.

I have drawn this digression into a much greater length than I intended, but shall now proceed to give a summary account of the transactions of this campaign.

END OF VOLUME I.

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